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ESSAY

AN
ESSAY
ON
THE
PUNIC INSCRIPTION

IN THE TEMPLE OF CARACALLA

AN
ESSAY.

BY
SIR WILLIAM HENRY DUNBAR



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AN
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ON A
PUNIC INSCRIPTION;

FOUND
In the Island of Malta.

BY
THE RIGHT HONORABLE
SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND.

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IN

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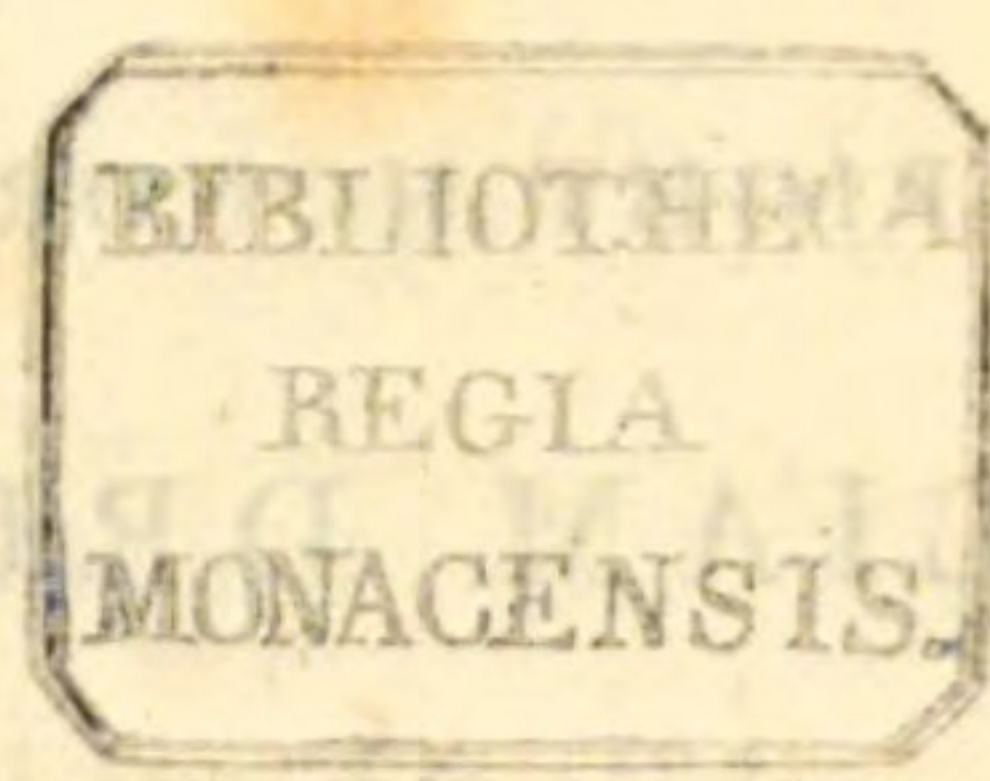
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SOLD BY

W. B. THOMAS, CLERK TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY

1810

TO THE
EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T.

&c. &c. &c.

MY DEAR LORD,

WHEN you and I quitted Malta, in the year 1803. I little thought that I should return to that island, and become the interpreter of its ancient language. The turn, which my studies had taken, however, gradually prepared me for this undertaking. The Essay, which I now dedicate to you, has been written chiefly in consequence of a letter, which I received at Palermo, and which was addressed to me by Mr. Bardoni, a gentleman well acquainted with

the antiquities of Malta. From this letter I shall make the following extract: *Nell' anno 1761. nella contrada di Ben Ghisa, in Malta, fu scoperta una caverna sepolcrale. Nel muro di quella caverna si trovo' un incavo di forma quadrata, in cui si vede inciso in caratteri Fenici l'epitafio stampato sulla congiunta tavola. Viene questa sottomessa al Cav. Drummond, accio egli voglia aver la bonta di tradurla.*

When I revisited Malta last year, I occupied myself in making inquiries concerning its antiquities; and as Malta is now become a part of the British empire, I trust that my endeavours to elucidate those antiquities will not be unfavorably received. In the present *opusculum*, I have confined my observations chiefly to the methods, by which some acquaintance with the Phœnician and Punic may be most easily and certainly obtained.

With respect to the epitaph itself, I cannot help thinking it a very curious monument of antiquity; and

you will no doubt be struck with seeing the name of *Hannibal* (there written *Hanni-Baal*) twice repeated. I dare not, however, assert that the sepulchre was that of the great Hannibal, since, according to the Greek and Roman historians, that celebrated person died in Bithynia. At the same time I may be permitted to remark, that there are some circumstances, which seem to invalidate their testimony.

If you will turn to the fifty-first chapter of the thirty-ninth book of Livy, you will there find the account, which that historian gives of the death of Hannibal. Now though this story be told with all the grave eloquence of Livy, I confess, it appears to me, like some others in his work, extremely improbable. Is it likely, that Hannibal would have remained so long in a situation of so much danger? Since he had already prepared the means of escape, and since he had already contrived seven outlets from his house, why did he wait for the conversation, which

took place between Flamininus and Prusias? He knew the fickleness of the latter, and he dreaded the arrival of the former, as fatal for himself. Why then did he remain until they should concert measures for his destruction? There was time for his escape even after the arrival of Flamininus, for it was not until after the conference of the Roman General with the Bithynian king, that the soldiers surrounded the house of Hannibal. The speech of this illustrious General before he drank the poison is very fine; but where did Livy find it?

If you will now examine what Appian has said on this subject in his book *De Rebus Syriacis*, you will find a different account. Hannibal is there said to have been poisoned by the joint treachery and malice of Prusias and Flamininus. In order that a silly oracle might be confirmed,

(Δίβυσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβου δέμας)

he is made to die in *Libyssa*, the plain through which the river *Libyssus* flows. Appian declaims with bitterness against Flamininus, who deserved every reproach, if the story be true.

Plutarch, in his life of Flamininus, relates a variety of reports concerning the death of Hannibal; but the oracle of course could not be wrong. *Libyssa*, however, which is a plain country, through which the *Libyssus* flows, according to Appian, becomes a certain small village, (Κώμη τις οὐ μεγάλη) according to Plutarch.

There are then only three things, about which these authors are agreed; *first*, that Hannibal died a violent death; *secondly*, that his death took place shortly after the arrival of Flamininus at the court of Prusias; and *thirdly*, that it happened in Bithynia. In confirmation of this last statement, Pliny, if I do not forget, and I cannot at present refer to him, mentions, that the tomb of Hannibal was in Bithynia.

But these reports are connected with others so contradictory and improbable ; and Hannibal is so evidently made to die at *Libyssa*, in order to accommodate the oracle ; that we may be pardoned if we indulge some scepticism concerning the truth of the whole story.

Allowing, however, that Hannibal did die in Bithynia, and that he was buried at *Libyssa* ; it is by no means impossible, and perhaps may not now be considered as improbable, that his ashes were afterwards transferred to Malta. The Carthaginian colonists continued to form the greater portion of the population of the island, after it fell into the hands of the Romans.¹ There is nothing then improbable in the supposition, that the ashes of Hannibal were conveyed to an island, which in the time of Julius Cæsar was still called *a Punic colony* by so respectable an historian as Diodorus Siculus.

¹ See Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.

The suggestion, which I have offered here, seems the more plausible, that a religious notion appears to have prevailed among the Carthaginians, which induced them to believe, that the dead should be buried with those of their own nation. Hannibal himself must have been impressed with that sentiment, when, as is related by Appian, he restored the ashes of Marcellus to his son.

The family of *Amilcar Giscon* was nearly connected with that of *Amilcar Barca*. The former was governor of the garrison of Malta, when it was taken by the Romans ; and it is very possible that some of his race may have continued to reside in the Island. The name of *Giscon* was probably altered from the original by the Greeks and Romans ; and in fact it is written differently by different authors. The Maltese name, *Ghisa*, is evidently a corruption. Perhaps *Giscon*, and *Ghisa*, are both corruptions of the same name ; and *Ben-Ghisa* the appellation of the district, where the tomb was found,

may have been taken from a descendant of him, whom the Greeks called *Giscon*.

You will no doubt remark, that the father of Hannibal was called *Amilcar Barca*, whereas, in the epitaph, the father of *Hanni-Baal* is called *Bar-Melek*.

The father of Hannibal was certainly called *Amilcar Barca* by the Greeks and Romans; but when did either ever fail to alter foreign names? The celebrated Hannibal himself was so called by a *misnomer* among the Latins; and the Greek corruption, *Ἀννίβας*, cannot even recal the name of *Hanni-Baal*. The name of *Amilcar Barca* seems to me to have no resemblance to the Punic; but that of *Bar-Melek* can puzzle no linguist.

After all, however, I mean not to insist upon the subject. There may have been other Carthaginian chiefs, who were called by the name of *Hanni-Baal*,

and who were thought worthy of such a tomb, and of such an epitaph. You will then distinctly understand, that while I suggest it as not altogether improbable, that the ashes of the greatest of the Carthaginian Generals may have been transferred to the shores of Malta, by the pious care of the Punic colony, which continued to dwell in that island, I by no means pretend to assert, that there is sufficient evidence to enable us to say more in favor of the hypothesis.

In a work, in which so many difficult points concerning languages have been treated, the critic will probably find some errors; and I can only hope, that these may be neither numerous nor important. I have to acknowledge the assistance of that learned Hebraist, Mr. Bellamy, though his assistance came too late to be of any material service to me.

It will be something in my favor with the Public, that you have allowed me to dedicate this Essay to you.

If, indeed, the protection of a name can do any thing for an author, it ought to be, I should think, where he can point to such a name as your's; where wealth and honors are united in early life with a distinguished reputation; where the man of rank and fortune is sunk in the man of worth and learning; and where respect, which might be refused to titles, is secured by the exercise of the most cultivated talents, and by the possession and the practice of the most amiable virtues.

I remain,

My dear Lord,

Your sincere friend,

W. DRUMMOND.

Brighton, November 14, 1810.

AN
ESSAY
ON A
PUNIC INSCRIPTION
FOUND IN
THE ISLAND OF MALTA.

IN undertaking to explain an inscription written in a language, of which there are so few remains as of the Punic, it seems that I ought to state in what manner I believe some knowledge of it may be really acquired. It appears then to me, that there are two methods, by which we can at least learn something of this dialect, which sprang from the Phœnician, and which consequently must have been once generally understood throughout the greater part of the civilized world. First, we shall find many Phœnician and Punic vocables scattered through the works of Greek and Roman authors; and secondly, we may obtain some knowledge of the Phœnician by the help of its cognate dialects, the Arabic, the Chaldaic or ancient Syriac, the Samaritan, the Ethiopian, the fragments of Egyptian to

be found in the modern Coptic; and lastly, in the Hebrew, the venerable parent of all these languages.

The learned Bochart has collected, *cum summo studio*, as Walton has justly observed, a considerable number of Phœnician and Punic words from the writings of the Greeks and Romans. This catalogue of vocables must have required immense reading, and proves the accuracy, as well as the erudition, of Bochart. I think, however, he might have remarked the word *Ἰουγ*,¹ in the *Phænissæ* of Euripides; *ἀπφον*, in Theocritus, which, according to Stephanus and Reiske, is to be traced to the Chaldaic or Phœnician; and *canthus*, a Punic word, which, as Quintilian observes, was first employed by Persius.² Bochart might also have added to the quotation, which he gives from Eunapius concerning *Malchus*, the words of Longinus, who, in one of his fragments, calls Porphyry *Βασιλέα τὸν Τυρίον*. With those few exceptions I do not at present recollect any other omissions of Bochart. To him, therefore, I refer my reader, and shall proceed to consider the Phœnician as connected with its cognate dialects.

1. It is, and has been, the opinion of many learned men, that the ancient Arabic was the same with the Hebrew. Schultens thought, and I believe rightly, that the Book of Job is written in ancient Arabic. Bochart, Pococke, Walton, and even some of the

¹ I take the word as it stands in the genitive; but *Ἰω* and all its derivatives come from the Phœnician.

² See my note on this word in my translation of Persius, 2nd edit.

Rabbins themselves, acknowledge that this language tends to throw great light on the Hebrew, and indeed on all the various dialects of Syria. It is pretended by Casiri, that the Homerite Arabic was the same with the Phœnician and Punic. I have not been able to procure a copy of his book in this country, but the following lines, which Casiri has thus put into Arabic from the *Pænulus* of Plautus, have been written out for me by a friend in Italy ;

نات عليونيم وعليونوت سقورة يسهقون زوت.
 قي ملقي نشو مظليق مل دم بهم.

I cannot help suspecting that some error has been made in transcribing the second line. For the rest, my reader will see that this Homerite Arabic is copied *verbatim*, the two last words excepted, from Bochart's Hebrew edition :

נא את עליונים ועליונות שכורת יסמכון זות.
 כי מלכי נתמו מצליח מדבריהם עסקי.

It may be easily admitted that the Homerite dialect must have been nearly similar to the ancient Syriac ; but we have scarcely any traces left of the Homerite or Hamyarite, which was written in the forgotten character called *al mosnad*. It appears, therefore, more rational to direct our attention to the dialect of the Koreish, than to build up a language out of Syriac and Arabic fragments, to which we choose to give the appellation of Homerite. The

Abgad Heviz, or alphabet, of the Homerites is nearly, or perhaps quite, unknown at the present day; and yet I should be even inclined to doubt its great antiquity, since Chardin tells us that it was furnished with vowel points. In the pure Arabic of the Koran we shall find enough to convince us, that the language spoken by the descendants of Jocktan and Ishmael, even so late as the sixth century after the Christian æra, bore a strong resemblance to the idioms of the Hebrews, Chaldeans, Syrians, and Phœnicians. Since that period, it is true, they have much augmented their language, while they have, as they themselves confess, lost many of the ancient roots, which might have made its affinity to other oriental dialects more apparent. Still, however, enough remains to prove that in studying the idiom of the Arabians, and the structure of their phrases, we shall greatly facilitate our knowledge of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac; nor indeed is it in their form and structure only that these languages resemble and elucidate each other. There are many words in the Hebrew and Syriac copies of the Scriptures, of which the sense can be best determined by the Arabic. I shall venture to offer some examples to my reader; and for most of them I myself must be responsible.

We read in Genesis, xxi. 33. *וישע אשל בבאר שבע*, and in the last verse of the First Book of Samuel, *ויקחו את עצמותיהם ויקברו תחת האשל*. The first passage is translated in our version, *and Abraham planted a grove in Beersheba*; and the second, *and they took their bones and buried them under a tree*. Thus *אשל*, which was a grove in

Genesis, becomes a *tree* in Samuel. But the Hebrew **אשל** is evidently the same with the Arabic **اثلج**, which is a *tree* peculiar to southern climates, and resembling the tamarisk.

The following words of Isaiah, **והיה השרב לאנם**, are rendered in the English Version, *and the parched ground shall become a pool*. This is not the meaning, and the beauty of the passage is entirely lost. **שרב** has the same sense here with the Arabic **سراب**. Now this signifies that *extraordinary illusion*, which often takes place in the desert, when the sands assume the appearance of a lake, and deceive the eye of the thirsty traveller. We have no equivalent word for *serab* in English, but it might be adopted, and with more propriety than *oasis*, which is a corruption from **الواح** *elwah*, the Europeans having changed *waha* or *oah*, into *oas* and *oasis*. The meaning of Isaiah, however, is obvious: "When the time of the Messiah shall come," the Prophet intimates, "all nature shall rejoice. When the kingdom of God shall be established throughout the earth, then shall the blind open their eyes, and the deaf hear; the lame shall leap, and the dumb shall sing for joy: The desert shall rejoice, the rose shall blossom there, and the solitary place shall flourish like Lebanon, or Carmel, or Sharon: The streams shall break out in the arid wilderness, and the *serab*, the illusory lake of the desert, shall become a pool of real water." How striking must this last image have appeared to the inhabitants of those burning regions, where the *serab* causes the most cruel disappointments, and where water is so rare and so valued! How much of the beauty of the thought is lost in our translation!

There are few passages, which have more embarrassed the critics than the following: *Which maketh Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the chambers of the south.*¹ *Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season, or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sons?*² Such is our English version, and perhaps it is as accurate as any other. But how shall we venture to pronounce that by *wy Ash*, or *wy Aish*, Job meant Arcturus? The authors of the Vulgate, and both the Buxtorfs seem to authorize this version; but Aben Ezra held that *Aish* was the constellation of the Great Bear; and certainly if we take *wy*, *congregari*, for the root, we can hardly understand *wy* to have been a single star. It may nevertheless be objected to Aben Ezra, that the Great Bear has been known to almost all nations, and from remote antiquity, by that name. The Arabians called it *دب اكبر*. La Pluche says that the Phœnicians gave it a similar appellation; and the word *دب* is common to the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac, as well as to the Arabic. The Syrians call the Great Bear *ܕܒ ܡܨܪ*, that is, *the Celestial Bear*; and even in the Ethiopian it has a similar name. There seems to be no reason to suppose, that this constellation had a different denomination in the time of Job. Besides it is said, *Canst thou guide Aish with his sons?* This seems to imply that *Aish* was a single star, and the brightest of his constellation, if indeed he belonged to one. I am, however, inclined to think that we ought to translate *Aish* by *Hesperus*. The star of the evening is not only the brightest, but

¹ Job, ix. 9.

² Job, xxxviii. 31.

is the first which is seen when the sun sets. Job might, therefore, in the language of poetry, call *Hesperus* the father of the heavenly host, and the stars, which followed him might be termed his sons in the same metaphorical style. عشي in Arabic signifies *evening*; عشا has the same signification; عشوة is *vespertinus*. The authors of the Vulgate have in one place translated *Aish*, "Vesper;" and the LXX. render it Ἑσπερος. According to the two Buxtorfs, and our English version, the next word כסיל *Chesil*, is synonymous with *Orion*. To this, however, is opposed the authority of Aben Ezra, and of M. Goguet, who would have *Chesil* to be *Antares*. *Chesil* in Hebrew generally signifies a *constellation*.

כי כוכבי השמים וכסילים לא יהלך אורם חשך השמש בצאתו וירח לא יגיה אורו.

For the stars of heaven, and the constellations thereof shall not shed their lustre; The sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not exalt her light. In the passage before us, however, I would translate *Orion*. The word اكسل is expressive of cold and torpor; and some have thought that *Orion* was therefore named *Chesil*. They might as well have referred it to the Hebrew כסל, where there are its own radicals, and which signifies *stolidus*. But since from the passage above cited it appears, that the *Chesilim* signified the constellations in a general sense, whereas Job evidently meant it in a particular one, we may suspect that there has been some corruption of the original word. The word جوزل *guzal*, in Arabic signifies a *young man*; and by this name Job might distinguish the constellation, which is still represented by a *young man*, viz. by *Orion*. Certain it is that one

of the names for this constellation in Arabic is *الجبوزا* *al guza*, which I think may be a corruption from *جوزل* *guzal*. The next disputed word is *כימה* *chima*. M. Goguet has shown the probability that this is the Hebrew name for the *Pleiades*: I would only add in confirmation of his opinion, that the *Pleiades*, which are generally called *تريا* in Arabic, are also sometimes termed *النجم*. The words *חדרי תימן* are translated *the chambers of the south*. It should have been *the hidden chambers*. *خدر* in Arabic signifies *a hidden or secret chamber*, and is still the name given to the apartment, where the women are concealed. Job meant to speak of the houses or mansions, as they are still termed in astrology, which being in the southern hemisphere were invisible in Arabia. The word *מזרות* *Mazzaroth*, occurs, I believe, but once in Hebrew, and in this place. I confess myself to be little satisfied with the endeavours hitherto made to determine its origin; and I suspect that it is really the Arabic word *منطقة*, (in Hebrew letters *מנמקת*) which signifies *the signs of the zodiac*. I would venture to render the two passages as follows: *Who maketh Hesperus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the hidden mansions of the south.—Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? Canst thou bring forth the zodiacal signs each in its season, or guide Hesperus against (that is, in a contrary direction to) his sons?*

In Job, vii. 17. we find *מה אנוש כי תגדלנו*, *What is man, that thou shouldest magnify him?* Now this is in contradiction to all that precedes. Let us rather take the sense from the Arabic, *جدد*, and translate, *What is man, that thou shouldest contend with him?*

The Prophet Nahum thus figuratively addresses the city of Nineveh; וגליתי שולך על פניך, which is rendered in our version, *and I will discover thy skirts upon thy face*. The verb here signifies “to uncover,” not “to discover;” and the word שול is evidently the same with the Arabic شال, *shawl*, of which the women in Asia make their veils, *I will uncover the shawls upon thy face*, i. e. *I will lift up thy veil*.

The words מה הציץ הלו אני ראה¹ are rendered, *What title is that I see?* This erroneous translation has proceeded from supposing צי to be the root. Now the root is probably صا, or perhaps صون, *custodire*. Speaking of the word ציץ, *tsiun*, an Arabian writer thus expresses himself; *it is a stone*, says he, *which is placed either on a sepulchre or on the highway*: صوة حجر يعمل علي القبر او في الطريق علاصه.

We read, *when thou buildest a house thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof*.² I would rather translate, “thou shalt make a platform round thy roof.” מעקה is the same with the Arabic عتقا, and this signifies “a platform or area,” which goes round the roof, and which serves as a kind of terrace.

רודים³ is rendered *veils* in our version. The garment in question is the same with the Arabian ردا, and is “an ornamented cloak or dress of ceremony.”

¹ 2 Kings, xxiii. 17.

² Deut. xxii. 8.

³ Isaiah, iii. 23.

Hast thou given the horse strength? hast thou clothed his neck with thunder? This celebrated metaphor is altogether out of nature; and why should we persevere in attributing it to a writer, whose imagery is not less just than sublime? Bochart would have רעמה to signify “a mane”—*hast thou clothed his neck with a mane?* But Gussetius has rightly rejected this interpretation. Schultens translates, *tremore alacri*; and this makes the metaphor as empty, and not so sounding, as it was before. We ought to have recourse to the language of the country where Job wrote. رَعَام in Arabic, signifies “the foam which issues from the nostrils of a horse.” *Hast thou given strength to the horse? hast thou clothed his neck with the foam of his nostrils?*

יִחַם כִּנְפֹן בְּסֵרוֹ וַיִּשְׁלַךְ כִּזְיֹת נִצְתּוֹ: *He shall shake off his unripe grape as the vine; and shall cast off his flower as the olive.*¹ The beauty of this passage, which seems to me to shine out in all its lustre, when attention is paid to the peculiar spirit of Arabic poetry, suffers, and perhaps must suffer, a partial eclipse, when translated into our European languages. *To shake off his unripe grape like the vine* is a violent metaphor. Every one knows that it is precisely the unripe grape, which the vine does not shake off. But when the vine is agitated by the winds, its unripe clusters are often broken or shaken off. The word نَسْر in Arabic, signifies “the cluster of unripe grapes,” as well as the unripe grape, and in another sense it signifies “children, or a young family.” Again the Hebrew נִצְתּוֹ is the same

¹ Job, xv. 33.

with *نصر*, (for *נצר* is probably a corruption from *نصر*) and this in Arabic may signify either “a flower, or gold, or riches.” Now the double meaning of these words was evidently in the mind of the author, when he wrote the passage in question, of which the following paraphrase seems to me to express the full sense. *He shall cast off his young children, as the vine shaketh off its clusters of un-ripened grapes; and he shall throw away his riches, as the olive scattereth its flowers.*

These few specimens may tend to show that the Arabic and Hebrew throw mutual light on each other; and if this be admitted, as it probably already is by every Oriental scholar, the same thing will be easily granted, when we compare our Phœnician fragments with the Arabic.

2. The Chaldaic, the ancient Syriac, and the Phœnician, appear to have been very nearly the same. That the two first were so, will not probably be disputed: *Chaldaicæ linguae ita affinis est Syriaca*, says Walton, *ut à plerisque pro unâ eâdemque habeantur, solâ enim dialecto differunt: in Scripturis dicitur Aramæa ab Aram, ut Syriaca à Syriâ.* Both these dialects, however, which so closely approach each other, were probably written and spoken with different degrees of perfection, at different times, and in different provinces. The Chaldaic of Daniel and Esdras is the purest of any. The paraphrases of Onkelos and Jonathan, and the Babylonian Talmud, are written with less accuracy. The language of the Talmud and Targum of Jerusalem is yet more remote from the genuine Chal-

daic, by the mixture of foreign words. Again, in the Provinces the Syriac is spoken with different degrees of purity. *Lingua Syriaca distinguitur in tres dialectos, quarum elegantissima est Aramæa, quæ est lingua incolarum Rohæ, et Harran, et Syriæ exterioris; proxima illi est Palestina, quæ est quâ utuntur Damasci, et montis Libani, et reliquæ Syriæ interioris incolæ: at omnium impurissima Nabatæa, quæ est dialectus populi Montium Assyriæ, et pagorum Eraci.*¹ But without entering more minutely into the question, we may conclude that the Chaldaic, or ancient Syriac, was the general language of the Assyrian empire, from Babylon to Damascus, and from Damascus to the very gates of Tyre and Sidon. Now there is no reason to suppose that the language spoken within the walls of those cities was different from that, which was spoken without them. The distinction between the Syrians and Phœnicians seems to have been considered as merely nominal by the Greeks,

Οἱ μὲν ἐπεπείρω, τοιπὲρ Σύριοι καλέονται,

Οἱ δ' ἄλως ἐγγὺς ἔοντες, ἐπωνυμίην Φοίνικες.

The authority of Herodotus is yet more important, and he tells us that *the Greeks denominate Syrians those, whom the Barbarians call Assyrians.* Now this same Historian, who had travelled in the country, distinctly states, that the Phœnicians dwelt in a part of Syria. The region, which may be called "Syria proper," evidently received that appellation from the celebrated Phœnician city *Sur*,

¹ Pocockius, in *Histor. Arab.*

or *Tsur*. It cannot then be pretended that *Sur* was not in Syria, or that the *Surim* did not speak Syriac. There are many words to be found in Phœnician fragments which are Syriac. Thus *Bal*, or *Baal*, a lord; *mammon*, lucre; *messiah*, anointed; *thor*, an ox; *melech* or *mlecha*, a king; *cottana*, a fig; *lacheman* or *lachem*, a kind of bread (or grain, if we follow the Arabians); *chermes*, a scythe; *nabla*, and *kinnura*, musical instruments; are words common to these two dialects of the same language.

It may be objected to these observations, that the Hebrew and Phœnician were so similar as to render it impossible that this last language could be the same, or even nearly the same, with the ancient Syriac. Hieronymus, that learned father, who was well versed in Hebrew, avows that he could not acquire the Chaldaic, so as to speak it. Again, there are examples where the Syriac appears to differ entirely from the Hebrew. Thus Laban called in Syriac *jegar sahadutha*, the heap of stones, which Jacob called *Galeed*. The difference between these two languages is yet more apparent from the following passage in Isaiah: *Then said Eliakim, and Shebna, and Joah, unto Rabshakeh, speak, I pray thee, unto thy servants in the Syrian language, for we understand it, and speak not to us in the Jews' language in the ears of the people that are upon the wall.* Now if the Hebrew be nearly similar to the Phœnician, and the Phœnician be the same with the Syriac, it seems difficult to account for the facts, which have just been stated.

The difficulty here, however, is more apparent than real. It was the pronunciation of the Chaldaic, or ancient Syriac, which em-

a cause sufficient in itself to account for a diversity between the dialects, which they spoke. We know likewise that the Jews had some peculiarities in accentuation and pronunciation, which their Syrian neighbours could never acquire. The Hebrew dialect was pure, simple, and concise. The Syrian was richer, but less chaste, and less original. The first abounds, even to harshness, with consonants; in the second, nouns are generally terminated with vowels. The Hebrew has something of the rudeness, which may be expected in the primæval language of mankind; while the Syriac, which is less simple, possesses more variety, and greater flexibility.

These causes seem to me sufficient to explain the reasons, why the Jews and Syrians, in the progress of time, and in the age of Isaiah, might not understand each other; but it by no means follows, though the dialects of these people were distinct, that they spoke languages radically different from each other. The more ancient Doric, before it was blended with the Æolic, would have been unintelligible at Athens. The modern Sicilian is Italian Doric; and yet a Tuscan might not immediately perceive that, for example, by *o biddu schiure*, was meant *il bello fiore*; by *quiddo schiume*, *quello fiume*; by *stu picciuteddu*, *codesto ragazzo*, &c. I have known examples of Caledonians, who have not entirely succeeded in making themselves understood by their English auditors; and yet it would be too much to say that two different languages are spoken at London and Edinburgh. When the great Bentley addressed himself in Latin to a learned foreigner, the latter gravely

replied, in the same language, that he did not understand English. I remember to have been present, when in a dispute on a subject of literature between a celebrated French Abbé, and a distinguished English scholar, the former quoted some lines out of Homer. In a moment the original discussion was forgotten, and the Englishman went to war with the Abbé's Greek, which he declared to be unintelligible. The Frenchman vindicated his mode of reading with great warmth; and the company, which was partly English and partly French, were divided in opinion, each according to his nation. A few varieties in pronunciation, the introduction of some foreign words, and peculiar inflections in nouns and verbs, are sufficient to render one dialect of a language unintelligible to those, who speak another.

To the great affinity, or rather to the identity, which I pretend to establish between the ancient Syriac and the Phœnician, it may be objected, that in the latter we do not find so frequently the use of the exceeding, or, as Grammarians call it, the emphatic *alepha*, as in the former. Thus, according to Philo, $\mu\omega\tau$ was the Phœnician for *slime*, whereas in the ancient Syriac we should have rather expected to have found ܡܘܬ , *mota*. But I suspect that Philo has committed two errors here. *First*, he has changed the Phœnician *daletha* into a *tau*; for this we know was frequently done by the Greeks, as when they changed the name of the letter *iota* into *iota*. *Secondly*, he has suppressed the final *alepha*. There remains no such word as *mot*, or *mota*, or *moda*, signifying *slime*, either in Hebrew, or Syriac; but there is an ancient Arabic word, *mada*,

which bore this meaning. I am of opinion, therefore, that instead of $\mu\omega\tau$, we should read $\mu\omega\delta\alpha$. In like manner Philo seems to have erred, when he said, that $\mu\omega\theta$ in Phœnician signified *death*. This would have been accurate, if he had been speaking of the Hebrew, in which language the word is מוֹת, *muth*; but in Syriac it is ܡܘܬܐ, *motha*, or *mota*. Now, I think, I can prove that this was also the Phœnician word for *death*. Bochart has derived the name of the ancient Sicilian city of *Motya*, which, according to Thucydides, belonged to the Phœnicians, from I know not what, מוֹתוּחָה. I rather believe that it was so called in honor of Hecate, whose Syrian name might be *Motha*, or *Mutha*. The Arabians certainly gave the name of ܡܘܬܐ, *Motha*, to one of their villages, and Stephanus, on the authority of Uranius, interprets it ὁ τόπος θανάτου, *the place of death*. It seems that this was the חֲצַר מוֹת, *Chatsar-Maveth*, or *Chatsar-Moth*, (*aula mortis*) of Scripture, which was probably situated in Arabia, because *Chatsar-Maveth* is figuratively called the son of Joctan. The city *Mothuca*, and the river *Mothucanus*, received their names from the Phœnicians; and if my reader will look into Lycophron and his scholiast, he will find that a celebrated temple of Hecate stood near the waters of the *Mothucanus*. Tzetzes, indeed, pretends that the temple was built by Ulysses; but this idle notion might have been left to the poets. The abridger of Stephanus says that *Motya* was so called from a female of that name. But on a coin of the city, which I brought home with me, and which belongs to the Earl of Aberdeen, the name is written in Phœnician characters, which for want of types I cannot exhibit in the original, "*Motha*;" and I therefore conclude

the female alluded to, to have been no other than the Phœnician Hecate, who was considered as the Goddess of the infernal world, as *Motha*, or *Death*.

My reader will observe, that when I speak of the identity of the Syrian and Phœnician, I do not mean by the former that dialect, which is termed the Syro-Chaldaic. Still less do I allude to that language, which is now generally denominated the Syriac, and which is overrun with Greek and Arabic exotics.¹ I refer to the time when Tyre and Sidon yet flourished, and when it might be said that the Syriac was the general language of the country from the Nile to the Euphrates.

3. We are told in the Second Book of Kings, that Omri, King of Israel, bought the hill שומרון, *Shomeron*, of Shemer, and called the city, which he built there, after the name of the former owner. But Omri was one of those princes of Israel, who followed the idolatries of the Amonians, and who consequently worshipped the Sun by the name of און, or דון, or, as our copies have it, און, *on*; and under pretext of calling it after Shemer, he gave to it the title of שמרון, and thus dedicated it to the preserving Sun. Schechem was, however, the ancient capital of the country. It is now called Nabolos (corrupted from Νεάπολις), and is situated, as we learn from Benjamin *Judæus*, in a deep valley between the mountains of Garizim and Hebal.

¹ See the Lexicons of Castelli and Michaelis *passim*.

It appears certain, that when Shalmanezzer conquered Israel, he carried away with him all the natives of Samaria, distributed them in different parts of Assyria, and repopled the country by sending colonies into it from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim. Here then began a new race of Samaritans, who were idolaters ; but as each country was supposed by them to have its peculiar God, these strangers desired to be instructed in the law of the God of Israel. The Assyrian monarch complied with their request ; and a priest was sent into Samaria to teach the new inhabitants "the manner of the God of the land."

After the return of the Jews from Babylon, it may be presumed, that the Samaritans began to profit by their example, and renounced the worship of idols. Their temple became the rival of that of Jerusalem ; and Garizim received the appellation of "The Holy Mount." About this period probably the Samaritans wrote out their copy of the Pentateuch. The Jews pretend that it has various interpolations ; and one of them, if it could be proved to have ever existed, would have been a very serious one. According to the Rabbins, the first verse in Genesis was thus written in the original Samaritan version : *In the beginning Ashimah created the heavens and the earth.* This is what Joseph Scaliger calls *calidissimum mendacium* ; *Quod Asima*, adds he, *esset idolum Emathitarum : quasi gens Samaritarum ex solis Emathitis constaret, et non aliis gentibus. Speciosius igitur mentiti fuissent, si dixissent in codice Samaritano fuisse scriptum, in principio creavit Nergel. Nam Nergel fuit idolum Cuthæorum, non autem Asima.* Walton, in his

Prolegomena, has applauded this remark; but I confess I do not see its force. It is true the Jews gave the general name of Cuthites to the Samaritans; Samaria, however, was repopled from different cities and districts, and by men of Hamath, as well as by men of Cuthah. If a Hamathite had been the transcriber of the text, and this is as likely as that he should be a Cuthite, he would, if he were an idolater, more naturally have introduced the name of Ashimah than that of Nergal.¹

There are three copies of the Pentateuch called Samaritan. One of these, however, is in Arabic, though written in the Samaritan character; another is in the Hebræo-Samaritan; and the third is composed in the dialect properly called Samaritan.

The Hebræo-Samaritan text is nothing else than Hebrew written with Samaritan characters: as for example,

אֱלֹהִים . יְהוָה . יְהוָה . שְׁמִי אֱלֹהִים . אֱלֹהִים

יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים . יְהוָה . אֱלֹהִים . אֱלֹהִים . אֱלֹהִים

יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים . אֱלֹהִים . אֱלֹהִים . אֱלֹהִים . אֱלֹהִים

² &c. אֱלֹהִים . אֱלֹהִים . אֱלֹהִים . אֱלֹהִים

¹ 2 Kings, xvii.

² Deut. i. 1.

In the Samaritan version the language is very corrupt. The first words of Genesis are thus given:

בְּקִמְמִיּוֹת . אֱלֹהִים . יֵת . שׁוֹמֵיָה . וֵית . אֶרֶץ .

בְּקִמְמִיּוֹת . אֱלֹהִים . יֵת . שׁוֹמֵיָה . וֵית . אֶרֶץ .

The first word is evidently a corruption from *בְּקִמְמִיּוֹת*, which, in a metaphorical sense, may signify *in principio*. See the Hebrew and Arabic roots *קִים* and *قِيمَ*. In the Hebrew text the second word is *bara*; but I am unable to trace the origin of the Samaritan *אֱלֹהִים*. The remaining words are corruptions, which my reader will easily detect.

In the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch, there are many variations in the sense from the Hebrew. Some of these have been pointed out by Walton; and in several instances they may be consulted with advantage. But I shall have occasion to speak more fully on this subject in another place.

I have suspected that there is a mixed dialect, which occupies the place between the Hebrew and Samaritan, and to which the name of Hebræo-Samaritan might be given with more propriety than to the copy of the Pentateuch, which goes by that name. In this dialect seems to me to be written that curious computation, translated by Joseph Scaliger in his celebrated work *De Emendatione Temporum*. The characters are not the same with those employed at present, but resemble those exhibited by Morinus on

the ancient shekels of Israel; and the language is a mixture of Hebrew and Chaldaic, though in part corrupted from both. There are many contractions in the original version, which have been filled up by Scaliger in his edition of it in the Hebrew. I shall transcribe the first two or three lines in Chaldaic characters, which the reader, who is unacquainted with the Samaritan, may compare with the corrected edition of Scaliger:

בשם יה אלהי ישראל אין

כיה אלהינו יהוה אחד

אלהי האלה ואר הארז האל

הגד והג והנו, &c.

i. e.

בשם יה אלהי ישראל אין

כיה אלהינו יהוה אחד

אלהי האלהים וארז הארזים האל

הגדול והגבור ונורא, &c.

In nomine Jah Dei Israel. Non est similis Jah Deo nostro. Jehovah unus,

Deus Deorum, et Dominus Deorum; Deus magnus fortis, et terribilis, &c.

There are two Samaritan alphabets. The first may be collected from the ancient coins of Jerusalem, and was undoubtedly that, employed by the Jews before the captivity. The second is still in use; and the characters in both alphabets are Phœnician.

4. The ancient history of Ethiopia is involved in extreme obscurity; and various regions were denominated Chus and Ethiopia by the Syrians, Greeks, and Romans. The Greeks especially seem to have had very confused notions on this subject. It would appear from Herodotus, that in his time the Arabians were known by the name of Ethiopians; and, after a long lapse of ages, the same thing is clearly indicated by Procopius. Ælian, in his Various History, appears to think that the Ethiopians were Indians; Eusebius traces them from the banks of the Nile to those of the Indus; and Strabo finds them in the western, as well as in the eastern, provinces of Africa. Thus the Greeks never knew much more of this people than their own great poet had vaguely taught them, when he supposed two nations to be known by the name of Ethiopians, who dwelt in the remotest regions of the earth, where the sun rises, and where he sets.

Our business, however, at present, is with that country, which lies to the south of Egypt. By whom this Ethiopia was originally peopled, and what was the first language of its inhabitants, are questions of considerable difficulty. There can be no doubt that

Ethiopia is sometimes denominated Cush, and sometimes Lud, in the sacred writings ; but whether the Cushim, or the Ludim, were the earlier inhabitants, cannot be so easily determined. Moses distinctly tells us that Mezraim begat Ludim, that is, that the Ethiopians were descendants of the Egyptians. It may, however, be asked if the Historian understood all the Ethiopians by Ludim, and if he meant to state that these Ludim were the first people, who settled in the country beyond the confines of the upper Egypt? According to the same writer, Cush begat Seba, and Raamah the father of Sheba. Now both Seba and Sheba are names indicative of southern regions ; and the Queen of Sheba, whom Christ has called the Queen of Saba, or the Queen of the South, has been supposed, and with much apparent probability, to have been an Ethiopian. Since Cush then begat Seba, it may be inferred that the Cushites were at least as early settlers in Ethiopia as the Ludim. To this it may indeed be objected that Cush was the progenitor of the Arabians and Babylonians, and that by Seba was meant the inhabitants of the southern parts of Arabia ; but it will be observed that Cush is said to have begotten Seba, and three other sons, before any mention is made of Nimrod, who established himself in the plains of Shinar. Now if the sacred Historian had understood by Seba, the people at the extremity of Arabia, he would probably have indicated the Cushite settlements in a different manner, and would have named Nimrod before Seba. I am aware that tradition upon such a subject cannot be a sufficient ground for a positive decision ; yet since

I think it may be reconciled with the testimony of Moses, I see no reason for rejecting the assurance given us in the Appendix to the Book of Axum, in which we are told that Cush actually did pass out of Egypt into Abyssinia. I have, however, no bias to any system; and shall only generally state, that upon the whole I am inclined to believe, that, in the first ages after the flood, Ethiopia was peopled by various tribes, by the Cushites, the Ludim, and possibly by the Shepherds and Troglodytes, who appear to have been descendants of Phut, and whose establishments were extended over the western and southern regions of Africa.

Of the ancient language of Ethiopia it is equally difficult to speak with certainty. Upon any of the above-mentioned suppositions, however, I can see no reason for thinking, that it could be any thing else than Hebrew. Ethiopia was certainly peopled before the division of tongues; and there is no authority for imagining, that every nation of the earth began to speak a new and different language, from the moment in which sentence was pronounced on the builders of Babel. An attentive examination of the text in the original will remove this mistake. According to the traditions of Abyssinia, the Queen of Sheba bore a son to Solomon, and this son is said to have written a work, which serves as a preface to the annals of the Abyssinian kings. The sacred and historical language of Ethiopia is, and always has been, the Geez; but it remains to be known, whether or not it may have suffered changes in the course of several thousand years. If *Ibn Hakim* were really the son of Solomon, and brought the above-

mentioned work with him from Jerusalem, it ought to have been composed in Hebrew, and written indeed with the Ethiopian character. I think I shall be able to show in the sequel, that two distinct, though not very different dialects, one approaching nearly to the Hebrew, and another more closely resembling the Arabic, have been confounded under the name of Geez.

Some knowledge of the various Ethiopian dialects has been introduced into Europe by the zeal and labor of several learned men. Among these we may reckon Mavianus Victorius, Joseph Scaliger, Athanasius Kircher, Walton, Castelli, Ludolph, Wemmer, Gerhard, and Wansleben; but the highest place is undoubtedly due to Ludolph, the prince of Ethiopian scholars, and the master of all those, who would learn the written language of Abyssinia in this part of the world. It must, however, be observed that the labors of all these writers were confined to the Geez and the Amharic. We owe to Mr. Bruce, and to his learned and judicious editor, the fullest accounts which we possess of the various dialects of Habbesh, or mingled nations of Ethiopia. These are the Geez, the Amharic, the Falashan, Tcheretch Agow, Agow of Damot, the Gafat, and the Galla. Of all these languages I have been able to acquire some knowledge of the first only, and a more imperfect acquaintance with the second. To them, therefore, I shall confine my observations.

Mr. Bruce observes that the Geez has a great affinity to the Arabic, and that many Hebrew roots are only to be found in it. "The

Geez," says his editor, "is the oldest dialect of Arabic, properly so called, in existence: it is that of Hamyar, or at least of Arabia Felix, from which the Axumites in Tigre were a colony. But if this dialect exist in its original purity, and if the Geez be really Hamyarite-Arabic, we ought to find all the books written in Geez preserving a certain standard of language." Now I suspect this not to be the case. In some examples the language leans strongly to the Hebrew and Syriac; in others it seems, if I can be forgiven the term, a barbarous Arabic; and in others, many words are taken from the Greek. I shall not dispute whether, or not, the Ethiopian version of the Pentateuch were translated from the Septuagint; nor whether it were rendered by Frumentius, or not; but that it was the work of Greeks I think indubitable. Every man, who has read the Bible in Hebrew, must know, that it is extremely difficult always to determine the proper translation that should be given to the names of animals, vegetables, and minerals, mentioned by the sacred writers; and when we find the difficulty removed in the Ethiopian version, by taking the words from the Septuagint, I think it may be concluded that the translators were Greeks. If I do not forget, I am supported upon this point by Mr. Murray himself. A great part, then, of what is said to be written in Geez, is the work of strangers, and of strangers, who in cases of difficulty consulted neither the original Hebrew, nor the language in which they professed to write, but their own tongue, and the books in which it is written. I shall proceed to corroborate these several observations by examples.

1. That the Geez occasionally bears a strong affinity to the Hebrew and Syriac will not probably be denied; nor does this assertion contradict the opinion of Mr. Murray, who thinks it to be the same with the Hamyarite dialect, which was nearly the same with the ancient Syriac. But if this affinity in some examples be proved, and the yet stronger resemblance of the Geez with the more modern Arabic be made equally evident from other examples, it will follow that there are really distinct dialects of the sacred Ethiopian.

If my reader will turn to the specimen of Geez given by Joseph Scaliger, in his work *De Emendatione Temporum*, he will find it strongly resembling the Hebrew. With a very few and slight alterations in the orthography, the first sentence will run as follows:

בשם אב וילד ונפש קדוש אחד מלך

נחז ננר אם אבים ואחים זב יתגברו

ימות ועלם ושבתי זה כרסתם.

In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, of the one God,

we shall thus speak, O fathers and brothers, in order that the days, and

ages, and sabbath of Jesus Christ confirm themselves.

Now although it may be said that this is not pure, or correct, Hebrew, and that some of the words bear a signification, which cannot be authorised from any examples in the Scriptures; yet a little consideration will much diminish these objections.

The word *melek* signifies *king* in Hebrew and in Geez; but when the Ethiopians give this title to the Deity they prefix an *alph* to it, and write it ለጥላክ.

In Hebrew נָנַח means *to flow, to pass on*, and the Ethiopians, extending the sense, employ it in the signification given above.

It will be observed that both נָנַח and יִתְנַבֵּר may be regularly brought from their roots according to the Hebrew Grammar. נָנַח is the first person plural of the future Pihel of the word נָנַח; and יִתְנַבֵּר is the third person plural of the future Hithpahel of the verb נָבַר.

I take the following sentence from the confession of faith of Claudius, King of Abyssinia:

ኢሕዳ : ኢሰራኤል : በላ : ለጥላክ : ወበወልደ : ዋሐደ :

ለዮሐንስ : ከረከቸን : ወእቱ : ቃሉ : ወወእቱ : ኅይሉ :: ወእቱ :

ሎከረ : ወወእቱ : ንበቡ ::

This is very near Hebrew, if we except the pronoun *hua*, (taken for the substantive verb) which is written *huat* in the Ethiopian.

נחן נאמן באחד מלך בילדו אחד

Jes. Ch. הוא קולו והוא חילו הוא מכרו

והוא טובו.

We believe in one King (God), and in his only Son, Jesus Christ, who is his word, and who is his strength; who is his counsel, and who is his bounty.

The only word, which can embarrass the Hebraist here, is *מכר*; but I agree with Castelli about its signification. See Genesis, xlix. 5. where *מכרות* should be translated *counsellors*, and not *instruments*.

The sentence which follows is more corrupt:

ሀለፀ : ለእሁዳ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ይተፋጠረ : ዓለፀ ::

Who was with him from eternity, before the world was created.

The verb ሀለፀ : may be traced to the Hebrew *הלא*. In the Ethiopian it signifies properly that, *which exists at a great distance, or a long period of time.*

ሊዎቅድዎ : which Ludolph translates *antequàm*, is literally

ዐገ-ዐሃ.

ፈጠረ : is borrowed from the Persian, or perhaps from the Greek *πατήρ*.

ዓለዎ : This is the Hebrew *עולם*, *seculum* ; but also employed by the Ethiopians to signify *the universe*. In fact *עולם* signifies *eternity, infinity*, and therefore the word is frequently applied to the *universe, quasi, infinite*.

ወበደኅሪ : ወቀዕል : ወጸለ : ኅበኒ : ለካዘ : ለዐረቅ : ለዓኒበረ :
 ወለከቱ :: ወተሐብለ : ለዓኒፈን : ቅደን : ወለወረዖዎ : ለዎቅድዎተ :
 ደኅገል :: ወተጠሎቀ : በዮረደናን &c.

ደኅሪ : is a corruption from the Hebrew *דור*.

ወጸለ : corrupted from the Chaldaic *ܐܠܐ*.

ኅበኒ : The preposition with the affix. It may be remarked here that the prepositions in Geez are generally taken from nouns or verbs. Thus *ወጸለ*, which properly is a noun, (*ܐܠܐ*) signifying *similitude*, is used for the preposition *cum* ; and *ኅበ* is as evidently from the verb *חבב*, *dilexit, amavit*, though used as the preposition *ad, apud, &c.*

λῆΗ: Ludolph has translated this word *non tamen*; but the meaning must remain the same in the original. λῆΗ is a corruption of the Chaldaic ענת, *cùm, dum, juxta tempus*.

04פ: is from the Hebrew ערה.

ⲙⲏⲛⲗ: this word is Arabic, منبر, and has various meanings.

ⲙⲁⲛⲧ: from the Hebrew מלכות.

ⲁⲛⲏⲗ: This word may be derived from the Chaldaic, and signifies *to incarnate*. See Castelli.

ⲗⲙⲗⲁⲛ: The Hebrew word נפש, with the preposition עם.

פⲉⲛ: Heb. שר.

ⲉⲗⲓⲛⲁ: This is a corruption from דון עלמה, *the just virgin, ex jure virgo*; the *geml* being substituted for the *gnain*, and the final מה being dropped.

ⲙⲙⲫ: signifies *to baptize*; but I cannot trace its origin.

This passage may be thus translated:

But in the latter days he came to us, when he left (literally, left naked) the throne of his kingdom, and was made man of the Holy Ghost, and of Mary, the Holy Virgin, and was baptized in the Jordan, &c.

I shall transcribe the Lord's Prayer from the Geez, in Chaldaic and Syriac characters. The Hebrew grammar and orthography will require that I make a few changes; but these will not be important. Words that are neither Hebrew, Chaldaic, nor Syriac, will be marked with an asterisk.

nomen tuum.	sanctificetur	qui (es) in cœlis	Pater noster
שִׁמְךָ	יִתְקַדֵּשׁ	שִׁבְשֻׁמִּים	אֲבִנּוּ

auctoritas tua	firmetur	regnum tuum.	veniat
פְּקֻדָּהְךָ	יִכּוֹן	מִנְגַּשְׁתֶּךָ	יִתְמַטָּא

qui (sufficit) singulis	cibum nostrum	ita in terrâ.	in cœlis	sicuti
זֶלֶל	זֶנוּ	וּבַיָּדֵינוּ	בְּשָׁמַיִם	כְּמוֹ

peccata	remitte nobis	hodie	da nobis	diebus nostris
אֲבִשׁ*	חַדְגָּ-לֵנוּ	הַיּוֹם	הַבֹּל-לֵנוּ	עֵלֶת-נוּ*

in nos	peccaverunt	illis qui	remittimus	nos	sicut	nostra
לֵנוּ	אֲבִשׁ*	לּוֹ	נַחְדּוּג*	כְּמוֹ	נַחְנוּ	נוּ

serva nos	sed	tentationem	in	inducas nos	et non
אֲדַחְנוּ*	וְ	מַסָּה	וּשְׁתִּי*	תְּבוֹאֵנוּ	וְאִי

tuum est	quoniam	malo	omni	ab	et citò libera nos
זֶאךְ-יָאֵת	אֲשֶׁם*	אֲקִי*	כּוֹל	עִם	וּבַחֲלָנוּ

Amen.	in secula seculorum.	et gloria	potestas	regnum
אָמֵן.	לְעֹלָם עֹלָם	וּשְׁבַח	חֵיל	מִנְגַּשָּׁה

If I had written this according to the Syriac, I could have preserved the likeness to the Geez still more exactly ; but as the Hebrew is the mother tongue, I preferred making reference to it. The following are among the most general rules, by which the Geez, or at least one dialect of it, may be rendered very nearly Hebrew.

The Ethiopian *wawe* is frequently to be changed into the Hebrew *jod*. Thus 𐩦𐩣𐩪, *luna*, must be read ירח in Hebrew. Quiescent verbs in *pe jod*, are defectives in *wawe* both in Geez and in Arabic.

Hebrew verbs quiescent in *lamed he*, are defectives in *jaman* in Ethiopian.

Where a word has the middle radical dageshed in Hebrew, the Ethiopians frequently introduce the letter *nahas*. Thus for *mussut*, they write *munsut*, *temptation* ; *sanbath* for *sabbath*, &c.

The letters *aleph*, *he*, *vau*, and *jod*, in Hebrew, do not always regularly correspond with *alph*, *hoi*, *wawe*, and *jaman*, in Geez ; but are often confounded with each other.

The second and third radicals in Hebrew frequently change places in Geez ; and liquids are often substituted one for another.

Plurals terminating in *im* in Hebrew, and in *in* in Chaldaic, are generally terminated in *an* in Geez ; but they often take the

feminine form of *t* final, where it would be difficult to find any other rule than use. The last form seems to have been less extended to masculine plurals in the Hebrew than in its cognate dialects.

2. My reader will have perceived that nearly three words out of four, in the specimens of Geez, which I have given, are either ancient Syriac, or Hebrew, or are easily to be deduced from those languages. In the examples I shall now give, we must rather look to the Arabic as the parent tongue.

ወጫዛ : ዕፈረጉብ : ለጦኩሉ : ለፈጥ :: ዕፈረተ : ዘተወጠ : ለጦብ :

ወበኔለተዝ : ደነገል : ለፈቅረብ :: ¹

ጧጧ : *stacte*, vel *styrax*, from مَبْعَة or مَبْع. It may be rendered *myrrh*; but it also signifies *an agreeable odor*.

ዕፈረጉ : *unguentum*, from the Arabic مَعْنَار, which signifies *a rich oil*, or *sweet-smelling gum distilled from trees*.

ለጦኩሉ : from the Arabic مِثْل, *a tree, or shrub, that bears berries of a sweet savor, and pleasant smell*.

ለፈጥ : *aroma*, or *odor*. Wansleben brings this word from افواة.

¹ Cant. chap. 1. ver. 2.

ተወጠ : this word, which signifies *to return, to pour forth again*, probably comes from the Arabic *طأ*, *eduxit*.

ሰሙ : *nomen*, may be derived either from the Hebrew *שם*, or the Arabic *اسم*.

በእነዚህ : *propterea, ideo*. I cannot trace it either to the Hebrew, or to the Arabic; unless it be a corruption of some such expression as *بنا على ذلك*.

ደነገለ : this is a compound, which may be derived either from the Hebrew, or the Arabic.

ፈቆረ : *amavit*. This word comes from the Arabic; but *فقر* suggests too obviously the object of animal desire to be expressed in this place.

The next verse departs yet more from the Hebrew text :

ወሐሐብ : ደነረብ : በወዕላ : ዕፋረተብ : ነገረወል ::

ሐሐብ : may be derived either from the Hebrew *סחב*, or from the Arabic *سحب*, *trahere*, or rather *attrahere*.

ደነረ : *post*, is the same with the Arabic *طهر*.

I have already traced the two subsequent words to the Arabic.

408 : *currere*, may be derived either from the Hebrew, or from the Arabic, but more properly from the former—*רץ*.

The passage may be literally translated :

Because of the fragrance of thy sweet-smelling oil, (thou art as) a fruit-tree (full) of odor. Thy name is again poured forth (like) fragrant oil, and therefore the virgins love thee: And they allure thee: We run after thee on account of the sweet scent of thy fragrant oil.

In the grammar of the Geez, as it has been given by Castelli and Ludolph, there seems to be much, which may lead us to suspect, that we have one grammar for two dialects. The verb appears sometimes to take a Hebrew, and yet oftener an Arabic, form. There are seven conjugations in Hebrew, ten in Geez, and thirteen in Arabic. Now by adopting a very short and simple mode of exemplifying in what consist the differences between these conjugations with respect to form, we shall be enabled to see, whether the verb in Geez has taken its model from the Hebrew, or from the Arabic, in the formation of its conjugations. As, however, I have not seen this mode of denoting the conjugations in any grammar, I trust due allowance will be made. I shall take the Hebrew verb *פעל*, as my exemplar of the three radicals of the regular triliteral verb in the three languages.

The Hebrew has seven conjugations, namely: *Kal*, *Niphal*, *Pihel*, *Puhal*, *Hiphil*, *Hophal*, and *Hithpahel*. These may be distinguished as follows :

1. *Kal* : *kametz* after *pe*, *pathah* after *ain*.
2. *Niphal* : *nun* before *pe*, *sheva* after *pe*, *pathah* after *ain*.
3. *Pihel* : *hirec* after *pe*, *tzere* after *ain*.
4. *Puhal* : *kibbutz* after *pe*, *pathah* after *ain*.
5. *Hiphil* : *he hirec* before *pe*, *sheva* after *pe*, *jod hirec* after *ain*.
6. *Hophal* : *he hateph-kametz* before *pe*, *sheva* after *pe*, *pathah* after *ain*.
7. *Hithpahel* : *he hirec, tau sheva*, before *pe*, *pathah* after *pe*, and *tzere* after *ain*.

I have not noticed the dageshed letters.

In Arabic there are thirteen conjugations, which may be thus distinguished :

1. *Pe ain lam*, simple, as ذَصَرَ.
2. *Teshdid* over *ain*.
3. *Alif* after *pe*.
4. *Alif* before *pe*.
5. *Ta* before *pe*, and *teshdid* over *ain*.

6. *Ta* before *pe*, and *alif* after *pe*.
7. *Alif* before *pe*, and *teshdid* over *pe*.
8. *Alif* before *pe*, and *ta* after *pe*.
9. *Alif* before *pe*, and *teshdid* over *lam*.
10. *Alif*, *ain*, *ta* before *pe*.
11. *Alif* before *pe*, *alif* after *ain*, and *teshdid* over *lam*.
12. *Alif* before *pe*, *waw ain* between *ain* and *lam*.
13. *Alif* before *pe*, *waw* after *ain*, and *teshdid* over *waw*.

The verb in Geez has ten conjugations, of which the forms may be distinguished as follows :

1. *Ain*, *Sadys*.
2. *Ain*, doubled, or dageshed.
3. *Pe*, *Raabs*.
4. *Alph* before *pe*, and *pe* *Sadys*.
5. *Alph* before *pe*, and *ain* doubled.
6. *Tawi* before *pe*, and *ain* *Sadys*.
7. *Tawi* before *pe*.
8. *Tawi* before *pe*, and *pe* *Raabs*.
9. *Alph nun* before *pe*.
10. *Alph sat tawi* before *pe*.

The reader will easily perceive from these schemes of conjugations, that the form of the regular verb in Geez approaches in its conjugations, at least, much more nearly to the Arabic than to the Hebrew. In examining the quadriliteral and defective verbs, and the modes, tenses, &c. we shall still mark the same resemblance. It will, however, be observed, that the ninth conjugation in Geez bears no resemblance to any Arabic form, and that it is evidently the Hebrew *Niphal*. I likewise think, that the eighth conjugation in Geez, and the sixth in Arabic, are copies of the Hebrew *Hithpahel*. The substantive nouns, beginning with *mai*, are equally formed from a Hebrew model. See various examples from conjugations of which *alph* is the characteristic.

3. From what I have already stated, I am inclined to conclude that two dialects have been mixed and confounded under the name of Geez. Marianus Victorius tells us, that the Ethiopians pretend that their language was originally the Chaldaic. This may have been true; and yet the Arabic idiom, though under a corrupt and mangled form, may have been introduced by writers, who possessed only a limited knowledge of the original Geez. This practice may have easily gained in a country, where the arts and sciences have been little known, and where letters have been very imperfectly cultivated; and is the only way in which I can account for the pie-bald mixture of ancient Syriac, and corrupt Arabic, which we find in every page of the Geez. That the practice of introducing words, and even sentences, from the Arabic might have prevailed, may be easily conceived, when we find a host of Greek

vocables brought into the Ethiopian version of the Bible. To some of these vocables it would be impossible to apply the rules of the Geez grammar; and though there be much conformity between the Hebrew and Arabic, or the Chaldaic and Arabic, yet it will not be always found easy to reduce the Arabic Geez of one sentence, and the Chaldaic Geez of another, under the same grammatical law. Joseph Scaliger observed long ago, that the Ethiopian language had no certain grammatical rules. It must certainly be difficult to imagine how the following Greek words can square with the canons of any Oriental grammar; and yet to set them aside as exceptions, would only be to confess that the language contains so many anomalies, of which its grammarians can give no account.

ከርደኒከን : σαρδόνυξ, *sardonyx*.

ከቃርዖን : σικαρίων, (Gen. Pl.) σικάριος, *sicarius*.

እስፈረደት : σπύριδες, *corbes*.

እጫቴከጢኖን : ἀμέθυστος, *amethystus*.

እረግጥቆን : ὄρμισκος, *monile*.

እረቁጥቴኖን : ἄρκευθίνων, (Gen. Pl.) ἄρκεύθινος, *juneperinus*.

ከልቁደን : χάλκηδον, *Chalcedonius lapis*.

ከሬኮተሎቤ : χρυσόλιθος, *chrysolithus*.

ከሬኮጸረከን : χρυσόπρασσος, *chrysoprassus*.

ጸንጥቂን : πιστικός, *fidelis*.

ጸረቅለጦን : παράκλητος, *advocatus*.

ጸረጸጥቂ : προβάτικος, *pecuarius*.

From these examples, and many more that might be given, it must be evident that the Ethiopians were sufficiently inattentive in reducing exotic words to the standard of their own language, if indeed they really knew any standard.

With respect to the Amharic, I can only say that it seems to me to be a corrupt Geez. Its relation to the Hebrew and Arabic may be in some degree estimated from the following analysis, which I have made of the first sentence of Mr. Bruce's letter to the King of Abyssinia.

ይቤ : ይዕዋብ : ገብጽቂ : ለለገዚላ : ነጉሠ : ነጉሠት : ሱንኒዮን :

ዘሐረዮ : ለገዚላብሐረፍ : ለክብሩ : ሠገ : ወነፋን : ለወላደቅሁ : ነገሠ ::

ለገዚላብሐረፍ : ይነገ : ዘወርወር : ብወ : ሂፕን : ወለደን : ለወነ ::

ይቤ : This word comes from the Hebrew בָּקַשׁ, and signifies *to wish, to desire, to pray, to petition*.

ገብጽቂ : is written **ج**, in Arabic.

ለለገዘለ : *dominus*. Perhaps from כוש, “the founder of the Ethiopian race.” כוש probably signified *prince*, or *lord*.

ነገሠ : *rex*. Arabic, نجاشي. Hebrew, נגוש.

ዘሐፈሮ : The pronoun ዘ, (Hebrew, זה) and ኅፈሮ : *elegit*. Mr. Bruce spells it with a *haut*. Ludolph with a *harm*. It comes from the Arabic, حر.

ለገዢሰሐፍ : a compound word, which, according to Ludolph, signifies *lord of the region*. It is the peculiar title of the deity. ሰሐፍ : comes from the Arabic, بخت.

ለክብሩ : The prefix *lawi*, and ክብሩ : *honos, gloria*. Hebrew, כבד. Arabic, كبر.

ሠጋ : *corpus*. I am unable to discover the origin of this word.

ነፍሱ : *anima*. Hebrew, נפש.

እመእቅቷ : The preposition *am*, and *achir* with the affix. Arabic, امام احوه, *before his brother*.

ወሎ : *filius*. Hebrew, ילד. Arabic, ولد.

ⲡⲏⲛ : The optative of ⲗⲏⲛ, *prolongavit*. Corrupted from the Hebrew, נָחַס : the liquid *ro* being changed into the liquid *nahas*.

Ⲭⲟⲩⲟⲩ : The demonstrative pronoun, with ⲟⲩⲟⲩ, *dominatio*. This word is derived from the Syriac, *ܕܒܝܬ*, or from the Arabic, *دار*, *dominus*. (Possibly Ⲭⲟⲩⲟⲩ : is a contraction for, Ⲭⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛ : *his days*, from the Greek, *ἡμέρα*, but this seems contrary to grammar.)

ⲛⲟⲩ : The preposition *bet*, and ⲡⲟⲩ, *dies*. The same in Hebrew and Arabic.

Yagoube, the Copt, petitions the Lord, the King of Kings, Susneus, whom the Lord hath chosen, to the glory of body, and soul, before his brother, the son of the King. May the Lord prolong his reign, like unto the days of Enoch and of Adam. Amen.

5. The two dialects of Egyptian, the Sahidic, and the Coptic, which were spoken in the upper and the lower Egypt so late as about three centuries ago, seem to have been formed out of the ruins of several languages. They resemble those incongruous piles of building, where Greek, Moorish, and Gothic architecture have

been mingled together in the same edifice. It is, however, in these two dialects, which do not very essentially differ from each other, that we may naturally expect to find the principal remains of that language, which was spoken by the most scientific people of the ancient world. It is true that Egypt, since the time of Cambyses to the present day, has known more revolutions, and has submitted to a greater number of different masters, than perhaps any other country; but among Oriental nations there is a pertinacity of character, to which we in the West are comparatively strangers; and it is more difficult among them, than among us, to change manners, to banish prejudices, to alter customs, and to eradicate a spoken language. I believe the Coptic is now only known as a written language by the more learned of the modern Egyptians; and yet I have no doubt that many Coptic words have found their way into the barbarous Arabic spoken at Alexandria and Cairo.

Athanasius Kircher, who was among the first who introduced the knowledge of the Coptic into Europe, pretended that the Greek language had been chiefly formed out of this Egyptian dialect. This opinion was resisted with great warmth. The pretensions of Kircher to nothing less than universal science seem to have provoked the learned world against him; and he has been attacked by invectives, which, with all his faults, he scarcely seems to have deserved. His vanity was undoubtedly inordinate, nor, what is a more serious charge, was his faith always good; but I think it idle to deny that he possessed great erudition, and that much curious information may be obtained from the study of his

works. We have now better Coptic lexicons than his *Scala magna*; and we have been warned of many vain *hypotheses*, and of many wrong conclusions, which are to be found in his *Œdipus*; and yet he may not merit the contemptuous language, in which he has been spoken of by some learned men, and especially by Jablonski. With respect to the question before us, I think that if Kircher had stated it more modestly, and in a manner somewhat different, it would have drawn equal attention, and would have been less liable to objection. It can scarcely be questioned, that for many centuries after the death of Alexander, the Greek was very generally spoken in Egypt; and this is sufficient to account for the number of Greek vocables, which we find in Coptic. There are, indeed, some peculiarities in the Coptic language, of which I shall speak afterwards, which appear to prove that these vocables were borrowed from the Greek by the Copts, and that they were not known to the Egyptian tongue, before they were introduced in the time of the Ptolemies. At the same time if Kircher had stated that the language of the first Hellenists was partly founded upon the ancient Egyptian, I should not be prepared to reject the *hypothesis*.

There can be no doubt that there was but one language spoken in the family of Noah, and that Mizraim, Canaan, and Javan, must have understood each other. That this primæval language soon branched out into different dialects may be easily admitted, without supposing that this was effected by the judgment on the builders of Babel. Those builders were indeed scattered over the

earth; but I believe the punishment inflicted upon them was not, that they spoke as many different languages as there were men. The Rabbins tell us idle stories of the number of languages suddenly spoken being limited to seventy; but I think the builders of Babel all continued to speak the same language, and that it was not the speech that was changed, but the organ of speech that was affected. I translate, as follows, the passage alluded to.¹ *Go to; let us go down (exercise authority), and there confound their lips, so that no one may hear the lip of another. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth; and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the lip of all the earth, &c.* I am, therefore, inclined to believe, that it was because they could no longer articulate distinctly, that the builders of Babel found themselves incapable of communicating with each other.

The different situations, in which men are placed, who inhabit countries remote from, and climates unlike to, each other, must necessarily create varieties in speech; and especially when a language is still rude and barbarous, new modes of expression will be easily introduced. So early as the time of Joseph, it is supposed, the Egyptians and Hebrews were compelled to converse by the help of interpreters. It is probable, however, that both spoke different dialects of the same language. The Hebrews were

¹ See Genesis, xi. 7.

simple shepherds, and their language probably bore marks of the rusticity of those, who expressed themselves in it. It might have been at the court of Pharaoh, what the ancient Doric would have been in the Prytaneum at Athens. The Egyptians were already a highly polished people, and their language had become refined with their manners. That it was founded, however, upon the Hebrew I can have no doubt; and its similarity both to that tongue, and to the Phœnician, I hold to be capable of demonstration.

I propose to produce my evidence upon this subject by analysing, *first*, the Egyptian words and names, which occur in Scripture; and *secondly*, those that are to be found among the writings of the Greeks. As, however, this plan might occasion me to write at greater length than is absolutely necessary for the proof required, I shall confine myself to a certain number of examples, which, however, I think will be sufficient to establish my point.

I. The readers of this essay have not to be informed, but they may be reminded, that Esdras compiled anew the books of the Old Testament, which had been written before his time; that he employed the Chaldaic instead of the Samaritan character; that some interpolations were introduced by him, in which the names of places were no longer given as in the original copies; that there were various readings, as is evident from the *Keri Cetib*; that consequently errors had crept into the text after the time of Esdras; that in supplying vowels, our translators have been entirely guided

by the Masorites ; that the Masoretic punctuation was invented about five hundred years after the Christian æra ; and finally that in writing out proper names, and especially names, which were not strictly Hebrew, or Chaldaic, the Scribes and Masorites were peculiarly liable to error. The book of the law, which was found in the time of Josias, and copies taken from it, may have proved a source, at least, of trivial mistakes, in any other hands than in those of Esdras, or of some other inspired person. The old Samaritan alphabet was by no means limited to its present form ; but each letter was denoted by various characters, and the characters, which expressed some letters, might be easily mistaken for those, which expressed others. This cannot be doubted by those, who have examined any Phœnician writings ; and the Samaritans employed Phœnician characters. Now the Scribes, who have occasionally given wrong readings, and who fell into their errors after the time of Esdras, may have been misled by consulting the book of the law, which was found in the temple. But putting aside this supposition, there can be no doubt that errors crept into the text, as appears from the *Cetib* ; and the Scribes, who committed these mistakes, may have easily fallen into smaller errors, in transcribing proper names, that were Persian or Egyptian. It may be said that these would likewise have been corrected on the margin. This observation, however, can be of no force, unless we were sure that the marginal corrections were made from copies edited, or inspected, by Esdras himself, or at least by Simon the Just. Simon the Just could not himself have been the author of the marginal notes,

because as he interpolated the books of Esdras, as Esdras interpolated those of Moses, he would have introduced his corrections into the text, if he had thought them necessary. The faults then of the *Keri* must have been faults committed by the Scribes from the time of Simon; and until the Jewish Doctors had lost their ancient reverence for the written law, it is not likely that they would have meddled with the text as it was left by the last person of the great synagogue, even though some errors had been introduced by the transcribers. I am inclined to think the corrections on the margin must have been written after the publication of the *Mishnah*. In all events these corrections were not the work of any inspired person; and, therefore, the errors concerning foreign names might easily have escaped notice. It is besides to be observed, that the oldest Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible extant were written somewhere about the ninth or tenth century; and from the closing of the great synagogue to this period, faults in orthography may have crept into the text, and may have been preserved there, where the words were not Hebrew. Having made these remarks I shall proceed to my subject.

Every one is now aware, that the word *Pharaoh*, as we write it, was not a proper name, but a title assumed by the monarchs of Egypt. Now this title is nothing else than the Coptic ΠΟΥΡΟ *Pouro*, or ΦΟΥΡΟ *Phouro*, i. e. *the King*: the article *pi*, or *phi*, being placed before "*ouro*," *rex*. But this word is PPO in the Sahidic, and it may be suspected that it was originally written PO, to which the indefinite article OΥ was prefixed. This is, indeed,

positively asserted by Woide, and it would be difficult to appeal to a better authority. The ancient Egyptians then pronounced *Phi-ro* or *Phe-ro*, ὁ βασιλεὺς, *the king*. The article is purely Egyptian; but the noun may be traced to the Hebrew. We learn from Manetho, that the shepherds, who ruled over Egypt for several centuries, gave themselves the title of *Hyc-sos*, which, in the sacred language, signified *royal shepherds*, or literally *king-shepherds*. Thus *shepherd* and *king* came to be synonymous terms among the Egyptians. Now in the Hebrew text פרעה, (without any *Masorah*) gives us the Egyptian article *phi*, or *phe*, and רעה *roh*, “a shepherd.” Among the king-shepherds, the king was called the shepherd κατ’ ἐξοχήν; and shepherd and king came to be used synonymously. Thus פרעה signified *the shepherd*, and among the king-shepherds, the shepherd was the king.

Josephus tells us that *Moses* signifies, in the Egyptian language, *a person saved from water*. This etymology is founded on the words of Moses himself, and may be further proved to be just from the Coptic, for UOY *mou*, signifies *water*, and OYSHAI *oushai*, is *to save*. The name is not *Moses* in Hebrew but משה *Mousheh*, and the original Egyptian name was probably *Moushai*, or *Moushah*. The word for water in Hebrew is מים *mim*; but it was written sometimes מי *mi*, and in Chaldaic מוא *mua* or *mo*. ישע, signifies *to save* in Hebrew; and מוא-ישע *mo-ishah*, is evidently the compound word, which formed the name of *Mousheh*, or *Moses*, as the English write it, and which signifies *saved from the water*.

The name given by Pharaoh to Joseph of *Zaphnath Paaneah* has been traced to the Hebrew, by Bochart and others. It signifies *the beholder of secret things, or revealer of mysteries*.

The name of *Poti-pherah* ¹ is erroneously written by the Scribes, and instead of פוטי פרה, we should read פכהנט פרע *Pechont-phereh*. ² The Greek translators have written Πετεφρη, and Πεντεφρη, which proves that the orthography in some of the Hebrew copies differed from what it is in ours. *Poti-fereh* was priest of *On*, or of the Sun; and if we were to write the word in Coptic, we should write precisely Π-ΣΟΝΤ-ΥΦΡΗ *Pe-hont-emphre*. But it is probable that the inflection of nouns by U and H, is of a later date than the time of Joseph. The word may then be read Π-ΣΟΝΤ-ΦΡΗ *Pe-hont-phre* or *Pe-hont-phereh*. Now *hont*, “a priest,” which we may reasonably believe was often written *chon*, or *hon*, in Egyptian, is a manifest corruption from *cohen*, “a priest,” in Hebrew. A Greek writer, quoted in the *Etymologicon Magnum*, says that Hercules was called *Chon* by the Egyptians. But *On* was the great solar title in Egypt; and *Chon*, כהן, would sound, *ita ut Sol*, or *Soli similis*, a title that might be given to his high-priest. *Fre* or *fereh*, is the Coptic article Φ, and PH *re*, “Sol.” Now *re* had probably the same meaning and the same origin as *ro*, for both may be traced to the Hebrew רעה *roh* or *reh*, which first signified *a shepherd*, and afterwards *a king*, among the Egyptians. This

¹ Genesis, xli. 45.

² Vide Jablonski, *Panth. Egypt.*

last title of king was the general appellation of the *sun* among the idolaters of the East, whether they called him *Adrammelech*, the magnificent King at Sepharvaim; *Melech-arez*, the King of the Earth, at Tyre; or simply, the King *Milcom*, or *Moloch*, among the Amorites and the children of Ammon.

אסנת, *Asenat*, has been derived by some authors from *אישה*, a woman, and *Neith*, the Egyptian goddess; but this etymology does not seem to be well founded.

Before I quit these Egyptian names, as written in the Scriptures, I cannot help remarking, that too much stress appears to have been laid on the following passage in Genesis: *And they knew not that Joseph understood them, for he spake to them by an interpreter.* Now the word *מליץ* *melitz*, which has several meanings, may signify a speaker, a person who is employed to repeat the words of another, or to express his sentiments. It is not the custom for great men in the East, even to this day, to speak immediately to a stranger and an inferior. A third person is always employed upon such an occasion. I well remember, that when I was ambassador at Constantinople, the Sultan never addressed himself either to me, or to the dragoman of the Porte, but always to the Grand Vizier, who repeated the words of his master, just as if they had not been heard by us. I am of opinion that *מליץ* *melitz*, never ought to be rendered an interpreter, and by no means in the passage before us; and yet as no such custom, as that mentioned above, exists among us, I know of no word, by which I can translate it, without employing a peri-

phrase. Again, it is rather forcing the sense of the word שמע, to translate it, as is done here; for this word does not literally signify *to understand*, but *to hear*. Finally, the text does not say, that Joseph spake to his brothers by an interpreter, but that the *melitz*, the person who spoke, was between them. The version may then be: *And they knew not that Joseph heard them, for the MELITZ was between them*: that is, the officer, who repeated the words of the man, who was the second in the land of Egypt, stood between his master and the strangers, in order to repeat the words of each party. The brothers of Joseph, therefore, were not aware that he was listening to their discourse among themselves.

II. I have now to consider Egyptian proper names that have been mentioned by the Greeks. I shall state them as they occur to my memory, and have little doubt of tracing them to the Hebrew.

"Αθυρ. "Αθωρ. According to Orion, the grammarian, cited in the *Etymologicon Magnum*, *Athyr* was an Egyptian month; *Athor* was the Egyptian Venus; and from *Athor*, the third month of the year received its name.¹ Hesychius, on the other hand, at the word "Αθυρ, says, μὲν καὶ βοῦς παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις *Athyr* signifies a month and an ox among the Egyptians. If this assertion be allowed, it would appear, that the month *Athyr* was sacred rather to Apis than to Venus; and that the word must have another derivation. In this

¹ Vide Jablonski, *Panth. Egypt.*

case, I think, little doubt can remain, that *Athyr* is to be traced to the Chaldaic word תור *thor* or *thur*, "an ox," which, to avoid the *shibboleth*, was corrupted from the Hebrew שור *shor* or *shur*. I once thought that *Athyr* and *Adar* might have meant the same month. But in all the books, which I have had an opportunity of consulting, *Adar* is said to have been the month either of February, or of March. Now, in addition to what is mentioned above from Orion, Plutarch, concerning Isis and Osiris, states, that the month *Athyr* is that, in which the sun passes through the sign of the scorpion, and that it corresponds with the Attic month *Pyanepsion*. He likewise mentions, that Isis was sometimes called *Athyr*, and this being the case, I think the month must have been called after the goddess; or rather after the planet, which that goddess represented.

With respect to *Athor*, I am inclined to believe with La Croze, in opposition to Jablonski, that under this name the Ammonian nations worshipped the planet Venus. Jablonski states, upon the authority of Achilles Tatius, that the Egyptians gave names to the planets, wholly different from the Greek names; and in fact there wants no evidence of this. But we know from Pliny that the star in question was called the star of Juno, of Isis, and of the Mother of the Gods;¹ and we are told by various authors, that Venus was occasionally considered as the same with all of

¹ Lib. II. Cap. 8.

these.¹ But since Pliny clearly intimates, that the star of Isis was the same with that of Juno, it must follow, that if the star of Juno be the star of Venus, then the star of Venus is the star of Isis. Now hear Timæus Locrus: ὁ δ' ἄλιος μετὰ ταῦταν ἐνιαυσιαίῳ χρόνῳ τὸν αὐτῷ κύκλον ἑκτελεῖ· δύο δ' ἰσόδρομοι ἀελίῳ ἔντι, Ἑρμᾶ καὶ Ἥρας, τὸν Ἀφροδίτας καὶ Φωσφόρον τοὶ πολλοὶ καλέοντι. *But the sun after this completes his orbit in the space of a year; and there are two concurrents in the solar course, Mercury and Juno, which last the vulgar call Venus and Phosphorus.* That is to say, the vulgar considered the morning and evening stars as distinct, whereas the Egyptians had discovered that they were different names for the same planet, and had followed its evolutions from the most remote antiquity. This is confessed even by Baillie, the calumniator of the Egyptian astronomers. I see nothing then to resist the opinion of La Croze, that *Athor* was the Egyptian name of the planet Venus, unless it be the etymology of the name, as it is given by Jablonski; and this learned man, carrying us to his Coptic, tells us that *Athor* is *Night*, because ΕΘΩΡΩ bears that signification. Now after forcing the sound of more than one letter, in no way can we get nearer *Athor*, by the help of this Coptic word, than by pronouncing it *Ethorh*. I confess I like better to look back to the Hebrew, the Chaldaic, and the Syriac, the cognate dialects of the ancient Egyptian. Why should

¹ See a passage, which I have quoted from Apuleius, and another from Pausanias, in the fifth Dissertation of the *Herculanensia*. See also Phurnutus Περὶ τῆς Δημήτρος καὶ τῆς Ἑστίας.

not the Egyptians have called *Hilil*, "the son of the morning," by the name of *Athor*, (את-אור, — את being written for אור) "the signal of light, the type of the sun, the harbinger of day?"

**Αμμων* **Αμμουν*. It would appear from Herodotus that *Ammon* was originally an Egyptian deity, and that the *Ammonians* took their name from him. Δοκεῖν δὲ ἐμοί, καὶ τοῦνομα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδε σφί τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐποιήσαντο. **Αμμουν* γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. *It seems to me that the Ammonians assumed the name to themselves, because the Egyptians call Jupiter, Ammoun. This Ammoun had a temple at Thebes, and an oracle in Lybia, of which much has been said by the ancients. He was worshipped under the form of a ram, and the reason has been assigned by Herodotus, who tells us, that Jupiter had long resisted the entreaties of Hercules, who wished to see him, but that at length yielding to his prayers, he employed an artifice; he cut off the head of a ram, and covering himself with its shaggy skin, showed himself thus disguised to Hercules. This is an astronomical fable. Hercules is here taken as the symbol of the solar power, and Ammoun as the sun in the sign of Aries. The former is represented, in the words of Macrobius, "quasi virtus Deorum," being also the type of the course of the sun through the signs of the zodiac.¹ In Ammoun we may consider the sun as taking the appearance, which he wears in the sign of Aries, because we may always consider him, as Porphyry did, as καθ' ὥραν τὰς μορφὰς ἀμείβοντα, καὶ κατὰ ζώδιον μετασχηματιζόμενον changing his forms*

¹ See *Herculanensia*, Dissert. 3.

according to the season, and transformed according to each zodiacal sign. All that Herodotus tells us of the respect of the people of Mendes for goats, and of the reverence of those of Thebes for sheep, amounts simply to this, that in one part of Egypt the sun was peculiarly worshipped in the sign of *Capricorn*, while in another he was adored in the sign of *Aries*, but every where, and at all times, under the name of *Osiris*.

It is possible, that to some of my readers it may not appear so clear that *Ammoun* was a solar symbol. I shall, therefore, refer them to Proclus,¹ and to Macrobius.² This last author, however, plainly errs, when he says, that the Lybians thought *Hammon* the setting sun. It was the figure of this God that Eusebius³ has described. *The image offers the appearance of a man in a sitting posture, dressed in a blue color, but on whom a ram's head is placed. Instead of a royal crown he wears the horns of a goat, which support something resembling a disk. Indeed, the head of the ram with the goat's horn typifies the conjunction of the Sun and Moon in the sign of Aries; but the blue color represents the peculiar power of the Moon in compelling and attracting the waters during that conjunction. Clemens Alexandrinus has severely inveighed against Alexander for wishing to be thought the son of Ammoun; for making the statues represent him as a horn-bearer; and for desiring to injure human beauty by a horn.*⁴ There can then be no doubt that *Ammoun*

¹ *In Tim. Lib. i.*

² *Saturn. Lib. i. Cap. 21.*

³ *Preparat. Evang. Lib. III.*

⁴ *Strom. v.*

represented the sun in the sign of *Aries*. But what is the origin of the word? The בני עמון, *children of Ammon*, are often mentioned in Scripture, but, according to Josephus, they dwelt in a district of Syria, and were, as we learn from Scripture, the descendants of Lot. Moloch was their principal God, and he was represented as a man with a bull's head, and not with a ram's, like the God of the *Ammonians*.¹ There can be no doubt, however, that the children of *Ammon* were entirely addicted to the idolatries of Egypt; and on that account they probably received the epithet from the sacred writers.

It is observed by Selden,² that *Ham* was one of the titles of the sun in Egypt; nor have authors been wanting, who have derived *Ammon* from *Ham*. It has been objected to this derivation, that *Ham* is written in Hebrew with a *cheth*, חם *Cham*, whereas *Ammon* commences with an *alpha* in Greek. This difficulty, however, may be easily overcome, for Manetho writes *Hammon*; and besides we know that the harsh aspirate was sometimes dispensed with, as in *Adad*, which the Syrians, according to Macrobius, wrote instead of *Chadad*, which the etymology of the word shows to be the true orthography. I am inclined to believe, that the Egyptians expressed several things by the name of *Ammon*, or *Amoun*, for we know from Plutarch, that they chose such names for their Gods, as might express the different characters and attributes, which belonged to them.³ *Hamon*, or *Amon*, (for Plutarch shows that it should be

¹ See *The Pantheon Hebræorum*.

² *De Dīs Syris*.

³ See his treatise concerning Isis and Osiris.

written with only one *m*) may signify *the solar heat*. 𐤇𐤍𐤏 *ham-on*, is *the heat of the sun*. Again, 𐤇𐤍𐤏 *ham-on*, is composed of two words, one of which may indicate Egypt, and the other the sun; and it was quite consistent with the sacred language, which was expressed in hieroglyphics, thus to denote the Egyptian sun. But the proper meaning of *Amon*, or *Amoun*, is thus pointed out by Jamblichus: ὁ γὰρ δημιουργικὸς νοῦς—ἐρχόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὴν ἀφανῆν τῶν κεκρυμένων λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, "Ἀμων κατὰ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γλῶσσαν λέγεται. *The demiourgic intelligence* (that is, the *Deus opifex vel artifex*) *having proceeded to generation, and bringing into light the unknown power of occult causes, is called Amon in the Egyptian tongue*. It must have been this *Amon*, who was understood by Plato in his *Cratylus*, where he says, that according to the ancient Egyptian doctrines, *Jupiter is the spirit, which pervades all things*. Now let us observe, how well etymology supports Jamblichus. 𐤇𐤍𐤏 *amon*, signifies, both in Hebrew and in Syriac, *opifex*, or *artifex*. Jablonski, however, who quotes Jamblichus, twists these words to a sense of his own. He tells us that *Amoun* answers to the Coptic *amu-oein*, "lucem educens," or to *amphouoini*, which he reduces first to *ammouoini*, then to *amouein*, and finally to *amoun*, which signifies *lucidus*, or *lucem inferens*. Now the whole of this process is in defiance to the rules of the Coptic language. In the first place if there is such a word as 𐤇𐤍𐤏 *amou*, which I very much doubt, we have no authority that it is written without 𐤇𐤍𐤏𐤅 . Secondly, if the indefinite particle be thrown away in 𐤏𐤅𐤍𐤇𐤍𐤏 *ouoini*, we cannot have it both without the definite particle, and without any inflection to mark its case. That inflection must be either with *U*, or *H*, prefixed to the noun. Thirdly, how is 𐤇𐤍𐤏 ,

if taken as a verb, to stand without its prefix, by which I mean the part of the verb to which it belongs? Upon the whole I agree with Jamblichus, and suppose that *Amon*, in ancient Egyptian, signified *opifex*, or *artifex*, as it did in Hebrew and Syriac.

Ἄνουβις Ἄνουβις. Who has not heard of the *latrator Anubis*, that dog-headed God, who was worshipped in the canine district, and in the city of dogs?¹ Mr. Bryant endeavours to metamorphose the dogs into priests, because he thinks the Greeks mistook the Egyptian word *cohen*, “a priest,” for their own word *kuon*, “a dog.” It certainly does appear extraordinary, that a nation of sages should have adored *the dog of Cynopolis*, as Theodoret calls him. This was an object of ridicule to the Greeks themselves; and Lucian makes Neptune ask Mercury, *how he could prefer that ugly Egyptian ape, with his dog’s muzzle, to him who was Neptune?* But it may be safely believed, that the learned Egyptians considered *Anubis* as a hieroglyphic, that had much more to do with astronomy than with religion. In the enigmatical writings of the Egyptians, an ape with a dog’s head was the symbol, by which the planet Mercury, the horizon at sun-rise and sun-set, the heliacal rising of Sirius, and certain astronomical periods were expressed. Porphyry tells us, that when Pythagoras was in Egypt, *he learned three different kinds of characters; the epistolary, the hieroglyphic, and the symbolic; the former of which was an imitation of common speech, the latter of alle-*

¹ Ἐξῆς δέ ἐστιν ὁ Κυναπολίτης νόμος, καὶ κύνων πόλις, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Ἄνουβις τίμαται, κ. τ. λ. Strabo.

gories expressed by certain enigmas. Clemens Alexandrinus has spoken to the same purpose ; but he gives a curious example of the manner of writing symbolically, or by enigmas : *they likened the figure of the other stars to the bodies of serpents, on account of their oblique course ; but the sun to that of a beetle, after it has formed a ball out of ox's dung, and rolls it round, in an opposite direction to its face.* Τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρῶν, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξήν, ὀφέων σώμασιν ἀπείκαζον· τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον, τῷ τοῦ κανθάρου· ἔπειδε κυκλότερες ἐκ τῆς βοείης, ὄνθου σχῆμα πλασάμενος, ἀντιπρόσωπος κυλίνδει.¹ Now the enigma in this last instance extends much further than Clemens supposed, for it evidently indicated the true solar system, as my reader will see more clearly from Horapollo.² A symbolical enigma might then express several things. Thus a winged globe with a serpent ; a sphinx ; a serpent with a hawk's head ; and others of the same sort, contained a variety of matter, which was only understood by the learned. In like manner the symbol of *Anubis* had several meanings, some of which I hope to explain by the help of the ancients.

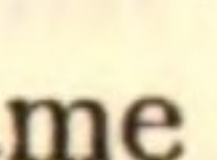
That Mercury and *Anubis* were the same appears from what Plutarch says, when he remarks, that *the Egyptians do not strictly call their Mercury a dog ; but on account of his diligence in watching and guarding, and his sagacity in distinguishing between a friend and*

¹ *Strom. Lib. v.*

² *Hieroglyph. Lib. i. Cap. 10.* See also Stanley in his *Life of Pythagoras*, where he alludes to the passage, which I have just cited.

an enemy; they compare him, says Plato, with the wisest of the Gods. Servius, on the line

Omnigenumque Deum monstra, et latrator Anubis,

observes, *quia capite canino pingitur: hunc volunt esse Mercurium.* Porphyry¹ says that when Socrates swore by the dog, he really made the oath by the son of Jupiter and Maia. I find that in Syriac the name of Mercury is  *Nebo*, or *Nubo*; and I can scarcely doubt that this is a corruption from the Egyptian, for we may be confident that the terminations of the names of Osiris, Isis, and Anubis, are of Greek manufacture. The planet Mercury was denoted by *Anubis*, from its being only visible a little before sun-rise and sun-set; because, as we shall proceed to show, *Anubis* was also the symbol of the horizon, at those times of the day.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that *the Egyptians represent the God, whom they call Anubis, with a dog's head, thus pointing out that a dog was the guardian of the bodies of Isis and Osiris.* In other words he represented the crepuscular light. Plutarch speaks yet more distinctly: *The circle, which is called horizon, which is common to, and which separates, the two hemispheres, is named Anubis, and is likened to the form of a dog, because the dog employs his sight during the night as during the day.* We likewise learn from Clemens Alexandrinus,² that two dogs were the symbols of the two hemi-

¹ *De Abstin.* Lib. III.

² *Strom.* v

spheres. But the planet Mercury, which is always seen near the horizon, accommodates itself, as Julius Firmicus indicates, to the nature both of Osiris and of Isis, (the sun and moon) being sometimes diurnal, and sometimes nocturnal. For all these reasons *Anubis* appeared in the *pomp* of Isis in the shape of a dog; now with a black, now with a gilded, face; carrying a caduceus in his left hand, and shaking a green branch of the palm-tree in his right.¹

Concerning Sirius, or the Dog-Star, which was also called the star of Isis, or of Sothis, I shall probably have occasion to speak hereafter. At present I shall only observe that I do not remember to have seen the reason stated, why it was called the dog-star. Now that reason appears to me very obvious. The heliacal rising of Sirius was an epoch of great importance to the Egyptians, and thence they dated the commencement of their civil year.² Now a star at its heliacal rising and setting must be seen nearer to the illuminated horizon than at any other time; and hence the Egyptians, who always looked out with anxiety for the heliacal rising of Sirius, naturally called it the star of the dog, that is, of the horizon, when they first saw it emerge out of the rays of the sun.

Plutarch, concerning Isis and Osiris, has told us that, according to some, *Kuon* and *Kronos* were the same, and then he gives a

¹ Vide *Apulei Metamorphos.* 11.

² See Porphyry, 1. 3.

reason for it, which is void of common sense. The truth is, that the Greeks puzzled themselves with *Anubis*, the Egyptian *Chon*, or Hercules, and their own word *kuon*. Now there can be no doubt that *Chon* and *Kronos* were, in fact, the same; and *Kuon*, or *Anubis*, may have been sometimes confounded by the Greeks with *Chon*. We cannot doubt, however, that *Anubis* might be used as a symbol for *Kronos*, because Theon tells us, that the Egyptian year commenced with the rise of the dog-star; Porphyry, that thence was the beginning of the generation of the world, according to the Egyptians; and Solinus, that the priests of Egypt then fixed the nativity of the world. Putting all these absurdities aside, it will be easily understood, that the Egyptians really did employ *Kuon*, or *Anubis*, as a chronological symbol.

We see then from the variety of meanings expressed by the hieroglyphical enigma of *Anubis*, and probably I have not denoted the half of them, that an appropriate name, and one bearing different senses, would naturally be sought for, to express that enigma by a single word. Now first, as the barking dog (*latrator*) was the symbol, the name ought to express that symbol. How is it possible then to question the derivation of Bochart, who has traced *Anubis* to הנובה *hanubah*, or *anubah*, *latrator*, in Hebrew? Jablonski, however, not only questions, but rejects, this etymology. It ought to be pronounced *hanobach*. Now I contend that the Syrians and Phœnicians frequently softened the *cheth* into *he*; and if a reader of Bochart should still assert the contrary, it would be

in vain for me to attempt to convince him. Be this as it may, how do we know what was the Egyptian termination of the word? It is idle to talk of modern Coptic terminations; and nobody will say that the termination in *is* is not Greek. I have therefore no hesitation in thinking, that *Anubis latrator* had one etymon in *hanubah*, or *anubah*, *latrator*.

By *Anubis* the Egyptians understood the God, whom the Greeks called Hermes. Now that Hermes, or Mercury, was the God of eloquence every schoolboy knows. May we not then suppose that the authors of the enigma, in choosing the word *Anubis*, (or rather *Anub*— with a termination which is unknown to us,) thought of the Hebrew הַנּוּבִיָּה *hanubi*, or *anubi*, “orator, præco eloquens?” Let it always be remembered, that the Hebrew *aleph* and *he* were only simple breathings, and were often exchanged for each other. Again נֵבֹ *Nebo*, or *Nubo*, was actually the Syriac word for Hermes.

We read, Isaiah, xli. 1. *Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth. Nebo* may have been pronounced *Nobo*, or *Nubo*, for we have here the radical letters, and I leave those to follow the masorah, who choose it. But *Nebo*, or *Nubo*, was the Syrian Mercury, and with the article we shall read it אֲנֵבֹ *Anebo*, or *Anubo*. This word, as applied to the planet Mercury, may have had some relation with the Hebrew נֹב *nub*, which signifies *to produce*, and also *to prevent*, in its old English sense. Mercury, when he rises in the East, is the

immediate precursor of the sun; and Milton might have said more truly of him than of Lucifer,

——“ *last in the train of Night,
If better thou belong not to the dawn!*”

The connection of *Anubo* with *nub* will appear perhaps yet stronger, when we consider *Anubis* as symbolical of the heliacal rising of Sirius. *Nub* in its most common sense signifies *to produce grain or fruit*; and *nib*, its derivative, signifies *produce*, but generally with relation to fruit and grain. Now hear what is said by Palladius, *de Re rusticâ*. *Græci asserunt, Ægyptios hoc more PROVENTUM futuri cujusque SEMINIS experiri: aream brevem loco subacto et humido nunc excolunt, et in ea, divisis spatiis, omnia FRUMENTI vel leguminum semina spargunt. Deinde in ORTU CANICULÆ, qui apud Romanos quartodecimo Calendarum Augustarum die tenetur, explorant, quæ semina ORTUM SIDUS exurat, quæ illæsa custodiat. His abstinent, illa procurant; quia indicium noxæ aut beneficii, per annum futurum generi unicuique, sidus aridum præsentis exitio vel salute præmisit.* I quote this passage on the authority of Jablonski, for I have not the original, nor do I know if it be the work of Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, who flourished about the beginning of the fifth century. There can be no question, however, of the truth of the statement, as may be seen from the several authorities cited by Jablonski.¹ I am of opinion then that

¹ Lib. III. Cap. 2.

this sense of the Hebrew *nub* may not have escaped the Egyptian inventors of the enigmatical symbol, which, since we cannot know its real termination, I would pronounce *Anub*.

Nothing is better known than that the sun was indicated by various names, and especially by names given also to the planets. The most general title of the solar orb in Egypt was undoubtedly Osiris; but still as his situation with respect to the planets was considered, he was called by their names. Thus Saturn was at once a solar, and a planetary, name; and the sun, considered with respect to the planet, was called the greatest of the Gods. The orbit of Saturn was believed by the ancients to be the boundary of the solar system; and this is what is meant by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, when he says that Saturn is the God, who contains the universe. But the sun, as Macrobius clearly states, was also known by the names of Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury. Now the Egyptian Mercury¹ was sometimes called Ἀννουβις *Annubis*. But the inventor of the enigma may have remembered, that אֲנֵבֹ Annebo, or *Annubo*, would express *Sol-Mercurius*.

Jablonski, with his usual learning, but with more than his usual felicity, has shown that *Annub* (ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ) signifies *golden* in Coptic, and that the name of *Anubis*, or *Annubis*, has reference to this word. This etymology is strongly supported by the authority of Lucian, who, in ridiculing the Gods, makes Mercury speak to this purpose:

¹ Jablonski, Lib. v. Cap. 1.

*The Gods of Greece are all handsome and graceful, with a comely and frank countenance; and, as far as the mode goes, are nicely cleaned and furbished out, at the same time that they are made of nothing but stone and brass. There are others, indeed, of ivory, constructed at a vast expense, retaining a small portion of the brilliancy of the gold, which is thinly laid over them, and with which they are only colored, though in fact they are nothing but wood within. But as for this Goddess Bendis, and that Anubis, and with him Attis, and Mithras, they are in good earnest all entirely of gold, and weighty, and of great value. This passage is sufficient to prove, that the images of Anubis were of gold. I have, however, three objections to make to Jablonski: First, supposing that *ennoub* was really an ancient Egyptian word, which signified *aureus*, when the enigmatical symbol of Anubis was devised, it is quite out of the nature of such symbols, that the sense should be confined to one object, for then it would not be an enigmatical, but what the Greeks called a tropical, symbol. Secondly, it would appear, that the word *ennoub* was rather taken from *Anoub*, or *Anub*, or whatever was the name of the God with the Egyptian termination, than that the name was taken from the word; and as one metal was called Mercury, long after the God was known by that name, so another metal might have received its name from the Egyptian Mercury, who was called *Anub*. Thirdly, I cannot reconcile it with the practice of any language, to denote a particular person, or thing, by an indefinite epithet, such as *bonus*, *malus*, *sapiens*, *aureus*. It would be rude in Greek to indicate a person by calling him ὁ χρύσεος; but to say simply χρύσεος, would be unintelligible. HOYB *noub*, is the Coptic word for gold, and ENHOYB, *ennoub*,*

“golden,” is a derivative. I must then conclude, that if the word *ennoub* really existed when the enigmatical symbol of *Anubis* was contrived, it was only as a part of the whole, which expressed various meanings; that, however, it is much more likely that gold was called after *Nubo*, than that *Nubo* was called after gold, just as quicksilver was called after Mercury, and not Mercury after quicksilver; and that if the name had been given to the God on account of the metal, of which his image was made, the epithet would at least have been preceded by the definite article. I am of opinion, that if we wish to explain the symbol by the help of the name, we must look to the Hebrew.

*Βούβαστις. Ἡ Βούβαστις Ἑλλάδα γλαῦσσάν ἐστιν Ἀρτεμις. Bubastis in the Greek tongue is Diana.*¹ That *Bubastis* was the same with Artemis, or Diana, seems to have been admitted, with one exception, by the Greeks and Romans, though we do not hear that the Egyptian goddess was addicted to the chase. This last is entirely a figment of the Greeks. Let it be always observed, that all that is poetical in mythology has been invented by the Greeks: all that is scientific by the Egyptians. In Egypt, allegory wove a veil for science, but the veil was transparent, until it was embroidered by the muses of Greece. We admire their beautiful workmanship; but we must lament that it only helps to conceal the face of science from our view.

¹ See Herodotus, *Euterpe*, Cap. 137. In the edition now lying before me, which is that of Gronovius, there is a different division of chapters, and this passage will be found in Chapter 138.

Juvenal has said, in speaking of Egyptian superstitions,

*Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.*¹

I think we can only account for this bold contradiction of the testimony of Herodotus, in three ways: *First*, the worship of *Bubastis* may have fallen into disuse in the time of Juvenal, and instead of having seven hundred thousand votaries, the Goddess was neglected, and her temple deserted.² This conjecture seems to be confirmed by the slight mention made by Strabo of the place where the temple stood, and where the rites were celebrated. With these few words he passes over a spot, which had excited the admiration of Herodotus: *Αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ ἡ Βούβαστος πόλις, καὶ ὁ Βουβαστίτης νόμος.* *There is the city Bubastus, and the Bubastic præfecture.*³ *Secondly*, Juvenal may have meant to intimate, that the type was worshipped instead of the thing typified; and that where all revered her dog, nobody thought of Diana herself. It cannot indeed be imagined, that Juvenal was complaining here of honors, that were rendered to *Anubis*, and refused to Diana. *Thirdly*, We may perhaps be allowed to suppose with old Holiday, that when Juvenal was in Egypt he did not accurately inform himself of its situation, or instruct himself in its learning and religion, “*but came, like canis ad Nilum, took a lap, and away.*”

It is sufficiently proved by the learned Jablonski, that *Bubastis*, as well as *Isis*, represented the moon; and so far I easily concur

¹ *Sat.* xv. ver. 8.

² *Euterpe*, Cap. 60.

³ *Lib.* xvii.

with him; at the same time that I differ from him in explaining the symbol. He makes *Bubastis* Π-ΣΟ-ΒΔΥΤ *P-ho-bast*, “yultum nudans *vel* retegens.” I confess, this appears rather a forced etymology; besides I know of no example to justify this Coptic. There is a substantive noun ΒΔΥ bosh, which signifies *nuditas*, and ΒΕΥ besh, the adjective signifies *nudus*; but the verb ΒΔΥΤ *basht*, is unknown to me. The present indicative may certainly represent the present participle in Coptic; but then if the verb be ΒΔΥ, we ought to have had ΒΔΥΤ with a *dei*. After all ΒΔΥΤ, if such a word exist, is from the Hebrew פשט.

Bubastis, like every other name of a hieroglyphical and enigmatical symbol, expressed different things. *Bubastis* was one of the names of the moon, but we may be assured that it was descriptive: *First*, *Bubastis*, of which the termination is Greek, may have been employed by the inventors of the enigma, to represent the darkened face of the moon. Every one is aware that *p* and *b* are convertible letters; and we know that the Chaldeans wrote פובסטא *pubasta*, “the veil of the face.”¹ But this could not be the sole meaning affixed to the enigma, for we may conclude that the hieroglyphic was accompanied by certain marks, which made each intended signification obvious, and separated it from every other. *Secondly*, therefore, *Bubastis* may have expressed the setting of the moon at the time when she is in her last quarter; or it may have signified her entrance into the form of a crescent, for בוא-בצע *bu-betsa*, will bear

¹ Castelli, in voce פסט.

either of these meanings, and may signify either the setting of the segment, or the coming of the segment: nor is it any objection to this, that we have here a *tzade*, since the Greeks, as Bochart has fully proved, almost always changed the *ts* into *st*. *Thirdly*, It is known to all, that the owl was the symbol of Minerva; but the *noctua* was only sacred to her when she was considered as *Noctiluca*. The Chorus in the *Ion* of Euripides prayed to her as *Ilithya*; and *Ilithya*, of whom I have spoken at length in a letter to Mr. Barzoni, was no other than *Bubastis*, or the *Moon*.¹ *Bu*, or *bua*, was the word in ancient Syriac for *noctua*; and *noctua*, “the owl,” was the symbol of the moon. בּוּ-בַסְטָא *bu-basta* then in that language would metaphorically signify *Luna velata*. This is also the signification of *Latona*. I shall now leave my reader to choose between Jablonski’s derivation and my own.

Βούτος, Βούτω. We learn from Herodotus,² that the Oracle of *Latona* in Egypt was in a town called *Butos*; and Stephanus mentions the same town by the name of *Buto*, from which, he says, *Latona* was called *Buto*. The Greeks chose to call *Latona* by the name of *Leto*; but the true name was *Laton*, for that city of the Thebais, which was called *Latopolis* by the Greeks, was *Laton*, and as such Kircher has rightly denominated it in his *Œdipus*. In order to discover the meaning of the word *Buto*, let us inquire into that of *Latona*.

¹ See Jablonski, Lib. III. Cap. 3.

² *Euterpe*, 155.

Porphry tells us, that *Latona* is the symbol of the sky (or air) below the moon, which is sometimes illuminated and sometimes darkened, Τοῦ δὲ ὑπὸ Σελήνην φωτιζομένου καὶ σκοτιζομένου ἄερος, ἡ Λητώ σύμβολον. He proceeds to explain this notion a little further, but without much success. Eustathius comes nearer to the truth, when he says, *Apollo* is called the son of *Latona*, that is of *Night*. Λητὸς υἱὸς ὁ Ἀπολλῶν λέγεται, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ νύκτος. The old scholiast of Hesiod likewise says, that *Latona* is *Night*; but he would not have been a Greek, who had not brought *Leto* from his own language; and, therefore, *Leto* and *Lethe* must always go together. But who does not see, that 𐤋𐤁𐤍𐤏 and 𐤋𐤁𐤍𐤏𐤗 *Lat-on* and *Lat-ona* signify that which hides, or obscures, or envelopes the sun, or the moon? *Latona* then is equivalent to darkness, or night.

Jablonski first proposes to derive *Buto* from *Beut*, a Coptic word, which, he says, signifies *sepulchral*. This word, he got from BH *be*, “a sepulchre;” but how it is to be rendered into BHOYT *beut*, or *beout*, I do not know. Not apparently by the common rules, by which adjectives in the Coptic are to be derived from substantives. But not content with this, Jablonski pretends that the old Egyptian word *muth*, which is mentioned by Plutarch, is the same with *buth*, the root of the name, which the Greeks call *Buto*. How far I may agree with him in this will appear hereafter; but it could scarcely have been imagined, that Jablonski would have turned *muth*, into I know not what, *mouti*, or *mo-uoth*, which signifies *to draw water*. Every Hebraist knows that *muth* signifies *death* in the Hebrew, and every body knows that *Hecate*, or *Luna*, was the

Goddess of *Death*. Milton makes Death masculine ; but Gray, more classically, feminine, in our language ; and the Syrians and Phœnicians unquestionably understood by *Mutha*, what the Greeks understood by Hecate. *Muth* and *Buth* were, therefore, in fact the same ; for both were *synonymes* of the Goddess Isis, though bearing their peculiar characteristics, and therefore denoted by their peculiar symbols. *Buth*, or *But*, (whence the Greek corruption *Buto*) signified *Night*, and also *Death*. We have still the Chaldaic word בִּית *bith*, which signifies *pernoctavit*, and we can scarcely doubt that it is a derivative from the primary word *buth*, or *but*, “nox.” Again, בִּית *bith*, in Syriac signifies *a sepulchre*, and this likewise probably came from *buth*, or *but*, “mors.” Every step we take proves more and more the analogy between the ancient Egyptian, the Hebrew, and its cognate dialects.

Κάνωβος. The fullest and most elaborate account of *Canobus* has been given by Ruffinus. The Greeks feigned, that *Canobus* was the pilot of Menelaus, who was buried in Egypt ; and from him, they pretend, the city was named. This is a very idle story. Jablonski says, that the fathers only, and none of the other Greek writers, reckoned *Canobus* among the Gods of Egypt. He seems to me to be mistaken, for *Canobus* is evidently considered by Plutarch among the Egyptian Gods.¹ His image is thus described by Venderius, — *erat crassa, brevis, et quasi rotunda, collo obtorto, brevissimis cruribus* ; and Ruffinus, after relating the famous conflict

¹ See his treatise concerning Isis and Osiris.

between the Gods of fire and water, adds, *unde ipsum Canopi simulacrum pedibus perexiguus, attracto collo, et quasi sugillato, VENTRE TUMIDO in modum hydriæ, cum dorso æqualiter tereti, formatur.*

With respect to the etymology of *Canobus*, there is a passage in Aristides, which is certainly very curious, in which he states, that an Egyptian priest had told him, that the name of *Canobus* was much more ancient than the time of Menelaus. Aristides adds, that the priest did not so clearly pronounce the name that it could be written in Greek letters; but that it signified in Greek (*χρυσῶν ἔδαφος*) *golden ground, or soil.* La Croze finds the original in Coptic, in which *kahi* signifies *earth*, and *nub* signifies *gold*; and the word for *Canobus*, which the Egyptian priest pronounced so indistinctly, that the Greek stranger could not write it down, must have been *Kahiennub* (KΔΘI-ÑHOYB). But I must object to this etymology, that in the age of Adrian, when Aristides lived, the old Egyptian language was probably greatly corrupted; that with the exception of the letter *hori*, which is a simple breathing, the word might have been easily put into Greek characters; and finally, that this etymology has nothing to support it in any thing, that regards *Canobus*, and seems to have been the solution of some ignorant Copt, who, being appealed to by Aristides, was determined to appear wiser than he was, and therefore put together two words, which might in sound, at least, in some degree approach the name of *Canobus*.

Baal-aub, or *Baal-ob*, was probably one of the Syrian Gods. Saul said to his servants, seek me a woman *Baalat-aub*, by which

I understand, a woman of, or belonging to, *Baalat-aub*; and I think this explanation is fully justified by the context; for the woman, when she answers Saul, says to him, *thou knowest what Saul hath done, how he hath cut off the AUBOTH*. Now if she herself had been *Baalat-aub*, she would not have called the utterers of oracles *auboth*, but *Baalim-aub*. If then there was a *Baalat-aub*, it seems likely that there was a *Baal-aub*; and I am inclined to think that *Canobus* was *Chon-aub*. *Chon* was an Egyptian, as *Baal* was a Syrian, title of the sun; and the sun, considered under different circumstances, was denominated, according to the hieroglyphic, by which he was known, *Baal-zephon*, *Baal-peor*, *Baal-zebub*, *Baal-aub*. Now *aub*, or *ob*, literally signifies *the belly*, and figuratively *an oracle*, probably because the first oracular impostors were ventriloquists. This seems to explain the reason why *Canobus* was represented *ventre tumido in modum hydriæ*. We know from Herodotus, that there was a temple of Hercules at the Canopian mouth of the Nile; and we learn from Plutarch, that there was an oracle in the city of *Canobus*, which, according to Heraclitus and Archemachus, was sacred to Pluto. But Hercules, as I have shown in the Fourth Dissertation of the *Herculanensia*, was the Egyptian *Chon*, and *Chon*, like Serapis and Pluto, was a type of the winter sun. The oracle was probably sacred to *Chon* during his descent to Tartarus. To denote this oracle, and the presiding God, the inventors of the hieroglyphic put the name of *Chon* together with that of *aub*; and as *aub*, or *ob*, signified both *an oracle* and *the belly*, the symbol of *Chon-aub*, or *Chon-ob*, or *Canobus*, which represented the sun as presiding over oracles, was a man with a small head, very short

legs, and a belly like the pitchers, in which the Egyptians kept their water. Upon the same principles I could explain, why *Canopus* was the name given to the brilliant star in *Argo*; but if what I have already stated be just, it is enough to prove, that we must look to the Hebrew for assistance in tracing the etymology of *Canobus*.¹

Κνήφ. Plutarch, concerning Isis and Osiris, tells us that the people of the Thebais acknowledged no mortal God, but only *Cneph*, who is unborn and immortal. From Eusebius we learn, that the serpent was the type of the *Agatho-dæmon* among the Phœnicians, and that the *Agatho-dæmon* was the *Cneph* of the Egyptians, and was also represented by a serpent in the form of a circle. All this may be easily admitted, for the Egyptians had many Gods, and more symbols. It is more important to my purpose to observe, that *Cneph* was the representative of spiritual nature. It was therefore said, that *Cneph* was incapable either of birth or of death. It was thence, that Proclus considered the serpent, which represented him, as the type of the soul of the world; and thence it was that the Egyptians called him *the Demiourgos*.² Now whether these Greeks, whom I have quoted, and whose words are given more fully by Jablonski, be right, or not, with respect to the serpent, we are certain that throughout the world *wings* have been, from the remotest antiquity, the symbol of *spirit*, and of *spiritual nature*.

¹ See the image of *Canobus* as exhibited by Kircher, Montfaucon, and Venderius.

² Τὸν δημιουργὸν Κνήφ, says Eusebius, οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι προσαγορεύουσιν.

What else was the symbol in the figures of the cherubims, of which Josephus has spoken with a degree of wonder that is almost ludicrous? What else was meant in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, or in the images of the Syrian Gods, or in the figures of Etruscan *genii*? Now *Cneph*, "the demiourgic intelligence, the soul of the world, the being that knows neither birth nor death, neither generation nor corruption," is a symbol of spiritual nature. Jablonski might have found in Eusebius an account of the idol, or symbol, of *Cneph*, or "the demiourgic intelligence," whose complexion was of a dark blue color, who carried a zone and a sceptre in his hand, in whose mouth was an egg, and who wore a plume upon his head. It is on account of his intellectual nature that he is adorned with feathers, which probably were wings, like those which were worn by Mercury. Be this, however, as it may, *Cneph* seems to have been named from the כנף *caneph*, or *cniph*, "a wing;" for whether Eusebius be right or not in saying, that it was a plume (not wings), which he carried on his head; we are certain from the Isiac table, that wings were the symbol, by which *Cneph*, or "the demiourgic intelligence," was denoted.

Ἄρποκράτης. *Harpocrates* was a type of the sun immediately after the winter solstice, and not after the autumnal equinox, as I once believed. Feigned to have visited the shades below, he lays his finger on his lip, to indicate that he shall preserve silence with respect to the secrets of the infernal regions. Those secrets, indeed, human wisdom hath never discovered, and will never reveal. The image of *Harpocrates* chills the soul. It warns us of the silence of

the tomb; and indicates that nothing can be known beyond the grave. The sun rises with the morning, he returns with the Spring to warm the earth, and to adorn the face of nature; but the vital spark, when once extinguished, is rekindled no more. Whither goes, and what becomes of each conscious intelligence? Is it re-absorbed by an essence whence it emanated; does it preserve a separate existence; or does it sink into utter annihilation, and cease to be, like the painted bubble, that glitters in the sun, and that then bursts and disappears for ever? These are questions, which natural religion can never solve; and the image of *Harpocrates* ought to have been more appalling to the wiser pagans, than all the Furies, the Gorgons, and the Hydras, that were created by poetry, and dreaded by superstition.

All that the ancients have said concerning *Harpocrates* has been collected by Cuperus, Kircher, and Jablonski. In order to ascertain the etymology of the name, we should consider the symbol. *Harpocrates* was represented as a boy with his finger on his lip, and with either an inverted torch, or the fruit called *persea*, in his other hand. Sometimes he is seated on the flower of the *lotus*; and when he walked, he was said to have limped. This symbol then may be considered in a moral, and an astronomical, sense. As a symbol of taciturnity, *Harpocrates* recals to my mind many a maxim, from the precept of the ancient, who said, *optimè sapit, qui opportunè silet*, to the remark of Dr. Johnson, who observed, that few people repented of having said too little. As a boy with a *persea* in his hand, and seated on the *lotus*, he represents the

solar heat, in the commencement of the year, combining with humidity to renew the vegetation of the fruits and the flowers. His limping in his gait is an astronomical symbol. Thus Horapollon tells us, that his two feet connected and going together typified the course of the sun at the winter solstice.¹ At first sight this symbol may appear whimsical; but, if properly explained, must give entire satisfaction, as proving beyond a doubt the science of the Egyptians.

I must remark, before I proceed further, that *Harpocrates* was represented not only as limping, but as vacillating, and uncertain in his mode of walking. He is said to limp, to be maimed in his feet, and to walk with difficulty, because the sun, on account of the obliquity of the ecliptic, is behind real time from the winter solstice to the vernal equinox, and never comes to the meridian until after the true time. But the apparent motion of the sun in the ecliptic is much quicker in winter than in summer; and the inequality of this motion is typified by a person, who with his legs fastened together takes unequal bounds, and vacillates as he proceeds. Again, *Harpocrates* cannot go forwards in a straight line, but oscillates, and perambulates, and thus denotes the sun's apparent motion, owing to the obliquity of the ecliptic, and to the earth's being nearer the sun in winter than in summer.

Jablonski finds, that *Harpocrates* in Coptic may signify *claudicans pede*, ΕΡ-ΦΩΗ-ΡΑΤ. I think this etymology very ingenious;

¹ Δύο πόδες συνημμένοι καὶ βεβηκότες, δρόμον ἡλίου τὸν ἐν ταῖς χειμερίαις τροπαῖς σημαίνουσι.

but it might have been observed by Jablonski, that the symbol may be more fully explained by the help of the Hebrew. *Harpocrates* was not only the representative of the sun in the ecliptic, moving at certain periods slower than an equatorial sun would do ; but he was the type of the infant sun, if I may be allowed the expression, rising from the lower hemisphere. When compared with Horus, Osiris, Chon, and Moloch, he might be named the first-born representative of the solar orb, for with respect to the zodiacal signs, and the commencement of the year, he preceded them all. Again, he reanimated nature, and as he encreased in strength, he fostered into life the whole vegetable world, and brought forth the first fruits, and the earliest blossoms, of the year.

That אור *aur*, or *or*, signified *the sun* in Hebrew as well as in Egyptian, I shall show hereafter. The inventors of the symbol of *Harpocrates* may then have put together אור-פוק-רהט *aur-pok-rahah*, which would mean *the sun vacillating in his course* ; for we have here three distinct ideas, which express *the sun*,—*to trip*, or *vacillate*,—and *a walk* or *course*. These indications were sufficient to the framers of the symbol. It is of the nature of a hieroglyphic, that the connection of the principal ideas should be left to be made out by the interpreter. Thus *Harpocrates* was sometimes called *Phucrates* ; that is, the symbol was expressed by two words, which represented the solar course after the winter solstice ; and the principal idea, namely the sun, was left to be understood. Again, by אור-בכראת *aur-bocrat*, or אור-פכראת *aur-pocrat*, which we may easily trace to the Hebrew and Chaldaic, we find the ideas, expressed

by the symbol, to be *the sun*, and *first-born*; or *the sun* and *the earliest fruits of the year*. Now how far the ideas, thus expressed by the name, might correspond with the thing meant, I must leave to the judgment of my reader to determine.

Ὡρος. Herodotus is the first author, who makes mention of *Horus*, and, as might have been expected, he hellenizes the Egyptian word, for it appears from Josephus that the real name was *Or*, or *Hor*.¹

It is unnecessary for me to adduce the authorities, by which it may be proved that *Hor* was a solar symbol. They must be remembered by all my readers. The reasons why the Greeks compared *Horus* and Apollo are also evident. According to Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch, the former was the son of Osiris and Isis; and the latter, as everybody knows, was the offspring of Jupiter and Latona. Both represented the sun; and both were painted as youths just arrived at the age of puberty. Here perhaps the similitude ceases. The Egyptian *Hor*, (for I agree with Kircher upon this point,) represented *the sun in the sign of Taurus*.

But there are some things, which relate to *Hor*, which are not so generally known, and about which it is therefore necessary to be more particular. The Egyptians had several symbols of the God of generation. In that number there is no question that *Hor*

¹ Joseph. contr. Appian. Lib. I.

was one. Τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Πριάπου, τοῦ Ὄρου παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις κεκλημένου, ἀνθρωποεῖδες ποίουσιν, ἐν τῇ δεξίᾳ σκῆπτρον κάτεχον· ὥσανεὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ φάνεισαν τὴν ξηρὰν, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐξωνύμῳ κρατοῦν τὸ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ ἐντεταμένον. Διότι τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἐν τῇ γῇ σπέρματα, φανερὰ καθιστῆσαι. Τάδε πτέρα τὴν ταχύτητα τῆς κινήσεως δηλοῖ.—Τοῦτον γὰρ τῷ ἡλίῳ δοξάζουσι. *They make the image of Priapus, who is called Horus by the Egyptians, in the form of a man holding a sceptre in his right hand, because by him the dry land and the sea are brought forth into light. In his left hand he grasps veretrum suum intentum, because it is he, who makes the seeds concealed in the earth appear. The wings manifest the swiftness of the motion, &c. They are of opinion that this Horus is the sun.* ¹

Jablonski has called this authority in question, and adds: *unum quoque hunc tantum scriptorem anonymum reperire potui, qui Horum cum Priapo Græcorum obscæno eundem esse dixerit.* I hardly think the anonymous writer would have made so detailed a statement without foundation; and Theodoret strongly corroborates what we find in Suidas. This father observes, that though some of the pagan priests knew, that Priapus was the son of Bacchus and Venus, yet that the Hierophant of the obscene mysteries, or perhaps some other individual, who had perused the flagitious books that described them, was alone acquainted with the reason, why Priapus was called the son of Bacchus and Venus, and why was affixed to the boy (σμικρῷ) *membrum genitale intentum maximumque: μόνιον ἐντεταμένον καὶ μέγιστον.* ²

¹ Suidas, in voce Πριάπος.

² Theodoret, *ad Græc. Infid.* Sermo, 1.

Salmasius thought that *Horus* was a corruption from the Coptic ΟΥΡΟ *ouro*, "a king;" and the titles of Melech, Adon, and Baal, given to the sun, may have helped to lead him into the error. But I have already stated, on the authority of Woide, the origin of *ouro*; and I shall only add here, that ΟΥ, the indefinite article in Coptic seems to be a corruption from the Greek ὁ. It is remarkable, that the Sicilian peasants say *ore*, for *re*; and in the same manner the ignorant Copts may have incorporated the article with many of their words; and this may be stated on Woide's authority, which is perhaps the best.

I shall not speak of Jablonski's interpretation of *Hor*, for I profess I do not understand how it can be obtained, either by the rules of the Coptic language, or by the reason of the thing. I shall merely give his translation of the word, which he has coined—ΥΕΡ, *virtus causalis, vel effectrix*.

The authors of the symbol of *Or*, or *Hor*, must have had it in view to represent the sun, as the God of generation. How this was done we have already seen from the description of the image of *Hor* given in Suidas. I suspect, however, that the anonymous writer has fallen into one mistake, and that what he denominates a sceptre was in reality a *phallus*.¹ In the rites of *Horus*, the latter was certainly the fitter symbol of the God. *Those*, says an ancient father of the church, *who nurse Harpocrates in the Butic præfecture*,

¹ See Plutarch, concerning Isis and Osiris.

and in its city Buto, are already old men. They, on a solemn and certain day of the month, are forced, at the instinct of the devil, to perform the mad and furious orgies of Horus, &c. For the sake of decency I omit the rest.

Now in looking to the Hebrew we can scarcely miss the double sense of the word, which expresses the symbol. In the first place, אור *aur*, or, or *hor*, signifies *the sun*.¹ In the second place, עור *haor*, or *hor*, though employed to signify *the skin* in Hebrew, had probably originally another and a less delicate meaning. It is evidently a derivative of ערה, *nudari*, and is little remote from ערוה, *pudenda*. That it really might bear the sense of the last word, I think indubitable, because the idol of Priapus was called בעל-פער *Baal-Peor*. Now this last word is nothing else than עור or, or *hor*, to which is prefixed the Egyptian article *pi*, or *pe*. *Pe-or* then expresses *membrum genitale*; and the article being thrown away makes no difference in the sense. Thus the Egyptian word *Or*, or *Hor*, really denoted what was meant by the symbol; the vernal sun considered as the God of generation—אור—and—ער.

Ἴσις. In devising the name of *Isis*, the Egyptian mythologists must have had many things to consider. How this name was pronounced, it would be difficult now to determine; but we may be pretty certain that the Greeks gave it a sound agreeable to their own ears, and that *Isis* is only a *simulacrum* of the real Egyptian word.

¹ Job, xxxi. 26.

I shall pass over all the etymologies, which Plutarch and other Hellenists have given of this name. It is more important to observe, that *Isis* was considered by Plato and by Plutarch as the symbol of feminine nature, as the mother and nurse of all things. The Goddess is thus made to speak by Apuleius: *Lo! I am present, moved, Lucius, by thy prayers—I, who am Nature, the Parent of Things, the Mistress of all the Elements, &c.* We likewise learn from Plutarch, that *Isis* was called *the mother* by the Egyptians. Again, she is represented as the symbol of conception, and as the wife of Osiris. It would seem then, that the Egyptian mythologists had in view the word *אשה* *isha*, or *isa*, (which signifies *what is feminine, a woman, a wife, a female*,) when they gave to the symbol of conception, to feminine nature, and to the universal mother, the name of *Isis*.

But the Goddess *Isis* was, in a higher sense, considered as intelligent nature. Known as concipient nature by many names, and by many symbols, such as *Luna, Terra, Sothis*, she held the highest rank among the Egyptian deities, as the eternal being, who was in fact the God of nature. Her name and her rites were different from those of Osiris; but hypostatically these deities were the same—*connexa, imò verò unica, ratio numinis*, says Apuleius. To whom else than to the supreme Deity could he have made the following address? *Thou holy and perpetual guardian of the human race; thou affordest the sweet affection of a mother to the miserable; thou unravellst the threads of the fates, which seem inextricably twisted; thou mitigatest the storms of adverse fortune; and checkest*

the noxious influences caused by the erratic wanderings of the stars! The inhabitants of heaven worship thee,—those of hell respect thee! Thou revolvest the celestial sphere; thou enlightenest the sun; thou governest the world; thou tramplest upon Tartarus. To thee the stars reply; in thee the deities rejoice; for thee the seasons return; and the elements serve thee! Again Isis declares, I am present, who am the Greatest of Deities; the Queen of Shades, the First of celestial Beings; the uniform Appearance of Gods and Goddesses; who manage at my nod the luminous heights of heaven, the salubrious gales of the sea, and the lamented ghosts of the dead; whose single godhead the whole world adores, in multiform semblance, with various rites, and by a combination of many names.

The true Deity has given himself the title of *I AM*; and his name of *Jehovah* is from יהוה, *fuit*. *I AM that I AM*, and he said, *thou shalt say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you*:¹

אֱהִיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֱהִיָּה וַיֹּאמֶר כֹּה תֹאמַר

לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֱהִיָּה שְׁלַחְנִי אֵלֵיכֶם:

Moses received this injunction at the beginning of his mission, and it may be believed, that the simple but sublime appellation of the Deity, which he had to announce, was not lost either on the

¹ Exodus, iii. 14.

Hebrews or on the Egyptians. God had spiritually declared himself to the prophet by the name of *Jehovah*, which signifies the τὸ ὄν κατ' ἐξοχὴν, *the supreme being, that which is of itself*. But though the name had not been comprehended in its full import before this time, yet the Gentile world had heard it already from the Hebrews; and as the Jews divided the letters of the *tetragrammaton*, so we find this sacred and expressive appellation, palmed in various shapes upon the imaginary Gods of paganism. *Iao* and *Io* were titles, which were presently given to the sun and the moon. The Egyptians, who knew from what source these titles were taken, when they called the moon by the name of *Io*, considered that luminary as the same with the sun, and with the God of the universe. The Greeks, who darkly comprehended the high mythology of the Egyptians, conceived that if *Io* were an appellation of the moon, they must make *Io* feminine like σελήνη. The Egyptians knew better. The Greeks fabled, I know not what, stories of *Io*, the daughter of Inachus; but *Io* was always masculine in the Egyptian language. At this day IOΩ *Ioh*, the Coptic name for the moon, is in the masculine. Thus Ammonius, καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἀρσενικῶς Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν σελήνην ὀνομάζουσιν εἰώθασιν. *The Egyptians are accustomed to call the moon by a name, which is in the masculine gender.* *Io* is evidently a fragment of *Jehovah*, for what Hebraist would fail to recognize as such the letters *y*? *Jeu*, *Iao*, *Io*, became titles of the sun and the moon, and were thus transferred from the true God to the fictitious idols of heathen adoration. Then let us not be told, that *Io* was an Argive name, only given to the Goddess that represented the moon, and never to the sun.

The Egyptians feeling the sublimity of the name of Jehovah, even as it must be commonly understood, probably did not neglect to apply it to their *summum numen*. Thus the Hebrew paraphrast,¹ surely without knowing it, has given us nearly the words, by which *Isis* describes herself. The Rabbin thus paraphrases the words of the Almighty:

אני שהייתי ואני הוא עכשיו

ואני הוא לעתיד לבוא :

I, who have been, and I, who am still the same, and I, who shall ever be the same. Isis declares,

Ἐγὼ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς, καὶ ὄν, καὶ ἐσόμενον.

I am all that hath been, and that is, and that shall be. This is sublime, but it is not equal to יהוה, *Jehovah*, or to אהיה אשר אהיה, *I AM that I AM*.

I have no doubt then, that the name of *Isis* was principally taken from the Hebrew ישה *isa*, or יש *is*, which signifies *est*. *Isis* is thus a name, which expresses the τὸ ὄν, the universal *ens*, the *being that is of itself*. Hence was she addressed with propriety in the dedication, which says to her, *Tibi una, quæ es omnia, Dea Isis!*

¹ Exodus, iii. 13.

Ὀσίρις. There are few names that have so much embarrassed etymologists as that of *Osiris*. From the days of Diodorus Siculus and of Plutarch to those of Mr. Bruce and of Mr. Bryant, this name has caused infinite perplexity. I shall pass over the idle etymologies of the Greeks, and shall only observe, that besides having hellenized the termination of the word, they disputed about the pronunciation of the first letter.¹

In choosing the name of *Osiris* to express the symbol of the sun, and of their chief God, the inventors of this hieroglyphic must have had various objects in contemplation. As the Greeks did not positively know the first letter of the word, and as it is very difficult to determine the precise power of vowels in the oriental languages, I shall think myself entitled to believe, that the authors of the enigma did not always adhere to one mode of pronouncing the sacred name of *Osiris*. *Jehovah* was an enigmatical name in Hebrew; and we know how variously it was both spoken and written. The priests of Egypt were surely no strangers to enigmas. When a slight change in the sound of a vowel could give a new sense to a word, can we imagine that these dealers in riddles took no advantage of it? It is also to be remembered, that even their sacred letters were copied from their hieroglyphics; and except the *matres lectionis* they had no vowels expressed by characters. Their *alpha*, like the Hebrew *aleph*, might have borne the sound of the other vowels.

¹ See Plutarch, concerning Isis and Osiris.

The Egyptians, as various authors testify, denoted the sun by the name of *Osiris*; and to the sun alone, says Eusebius, they attributed the formation of the world. *Osiris* was the same with *Bacchus*,¹ and *Bacchus* was styled by eminence *The Father*.² According to Jamblichus, *Osiris* is the productive cause, or that which is creative of good things (ἀγαθῶν ποιητικός). Plutarch tell us, *that images of Osiris are every where shown in the form of a man, erecto veretro, to denote his generative and nutritive qualities*. We also learn from this author, that the drapery of these images was made resplendent with fire. The idols of Moloch were likewise rendered radiant with heat, as we are told in the book called *Jalkut*. Now it would seem, that the authors of the hieroglyphic, when they named *Osiris*, may have had in view the words אֵש-הוּרָה *aish-hura*, and אֶש-הוּרָה *ash-hura*; both of which may be pronounced *is-ura*; not very remote from the way, in which Hellenicus wrote *Osiris*, viz. Ὀσίρις. The first would signify *vir* and *genitor*, i. e. *the male progenitor*, opposed to *Isis*, אִשָּׁה the symbol of concipient and feminine nature; and the second *ignis* and *genitor*, i. e. *sol-genitor*.

Plutarch says that the priests considered the ox as the image of *Osiris*. Diodorus Siculus tells us that the bull *Apis* was understood to contain the soul of *Osiris*.³ Literally, *the soul of Osiris transmigrated into Apis*. The words of Strabo are more remarkable: Ἐχει δὲ ἱερὰ τό, τε τοῦ Ἀπίδος, ὃς ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Ὀσίρις. *The place*

¹ See the Oracle cited by Eusebius.

² Servius.

³ Lib. 1.

contains the temple of Apis, who is the same with Osiris. It would appear from a doubt suggested by Plutarch, that the Egyptians did not always employ the initial letter, in pronouncing *Osiris*, but left out the first vowel. We may then think that the priests observed that שור *shur*, or *sur*, would signify the sacred animal, who was the same with their God.

The Egyptians represented *Osiris* as the king of the heavens, and a sceptre was one of his emblems.¹ We have seen that the Hebrew word רעה *rah*, *roh*, or *re*, was used to signify a king by the Egyptians. אשה-רעה *asa-re*, or *isa-re*, would signify the fiery king, or the king of fire.

But I imagine the principal object of the name was to denote *Osiris*, as the *ens-genitor*. Entity is the first title of Deity; creation, or generation is the second characteristic of the divine nature, and production the third. The highest name of the true God is *Jehovah*, “the being;” his second is *Elohim*, “God as Creator.” The *summum numen* was called the τὸ ὄν by the Greek philosophers; and we may believe that this sublime title was not unknown to the Egyptians. יש-הורה *is-hura*, or *is-ura*, would express *ens* and *genitor*.

I shall now close my remarks upon the names of the Egyptian deities, as they are reported to us by the Greeks.

¹ See Macrobius, Lib. i. Sext. Empiricus, Lib. v. and Plutarch, concerning Isis and Osiris.

6. The resemblance between the Hebrew, Phœnician, and Punic, has been illustrated by many learned men; and perhaps especially by Scaliger, Bochart, Salmasius, Selden, Walton, Swinton, Barthelemy, and Bayer. The Punic in the *Pænulus* of Plautus has excited peculiar attention, and occasioned much dispute and disquisition. It is certainly one of the most curious remnants of antiquity; but our hopes of interpreting it must be repressed, when we consider that such men as Salmasius, Scaliger, Bochart, and Grotius, could not agree about the reading even of the first line. I cannot, however, help remarking it as singular, that these learned persons have changed the *Alonim* and *Alonoth* of Plautus, into *Elionim* and *Elionoth*. Scaliger gave the example upon the authority of a passage in Philo of Byblos. Κατὰ τούτους γίνεται τις Ἐλίουν καλούμενος ὕψιστος. In the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, where the word *alio*, or *elion* recurs several times, it is considered as an epithet by our translators. אֵל עֲלִיּוֹן קֹנֵה שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ: *the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth*. But this is a mistake, *Elion* was certainly a proper name of the Deity. This I shall prove elsewhere. Now Sisenna says, that *alon* was the Carthaginian word for *God*; and consequently *Alonim*, *valonoth*, will signify *Gods* and *Goddesses*, as Plautus understood them. But the question then is, what is the origin of *alon*? Scaliger evidently thought, that *alon* was the same with the *Elioun* mentioned by Philo, and therefore that it ought to be written עֲלִיּוֹן. I am led to believe on the contrary, that the true orthography is אֵלֹן *alon*, precisely as Sisenna wrote it; and I think *alon* is compounded of אֵל *el*, or *al*, “*Deus*,”

and 𐤒 or 𐤒𐤍 *on*, “Sol,” which last word was commonly written in composition either 𐤒𐤍 or 𐤒.

Servius has told us, that God was called *Hal* by the Carthaginians, and *Hel* by the Assyrians. Selden rejects this reading, and proposes *Bal* and *Bel*. I think erroneously. Servius could not have meant *Bel*, when he says, *nam in omnibus illis partibus solem colunt, qui ipsorum linguâ HEL dicitur, unde et ἩΛΙΟΣ*. Bochart has likewise censured Servius, and asserts that *Hal* and *Hel* were neither Punic nor Syriac. Damascius has said, Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν Κρόνον Ἡλ, καὶ Βήλ, καὶ Βολαθὴν ἐπονομάζουσι: *the Phœnicians and Syrians surname Saturn HEL, BEL, and BOLATHES*. It seems easy, however, to reconcile Servius with Damascius; for Saturn, that *princeps Deorum*, might receive by eminence the title of *El*, or *Al*, that is of *God*. How, indeed, could Bochart thus hastily deny, that *Hal* was Syriac and Phœnician for *God*? He surely could not imagine, that the aspirate made any difference; and in fact it may be well questioned, whether we ought not to pronounce the Hebrew word 𐤒 *el*, “Deus,” as if it were aspirated. In all events with the article prefixed, we must read 𐤒𐤗 *hel*. Would it not be legitimate to say, *Græci Jovem colunt, et in linguâ eorum ὁ θεὸς dicitur*? The word for *God* in Hebrew is 𐤒 *el*; in Arabic it is ٱ *al*; in Syriac it is ܐ *eil*. It may, indeed, be questioned, whether it be correctly written *eil* in Syriac. The language, which Christ spoke was Syro-Chaldaic; and the words which he uttered on the cross, according to the Syriac version, were, ܐܝܠ ܐܝܠ ܠܡܐ ܣܒܥܬܗܢܝ, *Eil Eil lama sabacthani*, which would signify, *God, God, why hast thou forsaken me*? Now

this is not the true reading, for it ought to be, *my God, my God*; and, therefore, *eil, eil*, should be changed into *eli, eli*, and this proves that *el* was the Syriac for *God*. Again, the broad pronunciation of *al* for *el* among the Carthaginians may be shown from Josephus and from Plautus himself.

We read in Genesis, xli. 45.

וַיִּקְרָא פַרְעֹה שֵׁם-יֹוסֵף צִפְנָת פַּעֲנָח וַיִּתֵּן-לוֹ

אֶת אִסְנַת בֵּת פּוֹטִי פֶרַע כֹּהֵן אֹן :

And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Tsaphnath Phaneah, and gave him for concubine Asenath the daughter of Poti-Pherah, the priest of On. Now that On signified the sun in ancient Egyptian, appears from what has been said by Cyrillus, as well as from the Greek version, where we read, Καὶ Ὀν, ἣ ἐστὶν Ἡλιόπολις. And here it is to be observed that the ancient Egyptians did not say the city of the sun, but in general named their cities from their Gods. Thus they said Busiris, Canobus, On, and not the city of Busiris, Canobus, or On. But Heliopolis was the place where the sun was worshipped with the greatest solemnity; and it appears extraordinary that it should not have always retained its name of On, since we may conceive that this was the most distinguished title of the solar orb in ancient Egypt. As the place peculiarly consecrated to the sun, it was of course known by his most venerable title. It would seem, however, that that title was laid aside. I do not remember, that any

mention is made of the city of Heliopolis in the Bible, after the time of Moses, unless it be by Jeremiah, who does not call it *On*, or *the city of On*, but *Beth-Shemosh*, in Hebrew, *the city of the sun*.

It may be supposed, with every appearance of probability, that this title of the sun (viz. *On*) was laid aside on account of some reform, which was made in the calendar; and, as I am no follower of Euhemerus, to this cause I refer all the changes that took place in the Egyptian Pantheon. That the Egyptians were acquainted with the precession of the equinoxes is undeniable; and as they were aware of the difference between the tropical and sidereal years, and had established their civil year nearly at a mean between these two, reforms in their calendar became necessary in the lapse of ages. It was at these periods apparently, that the priests changed the names of some of their Gods, and announced the accession of new deities to the skies. Thus, according to Herodotus,¹ there were three orders of Gods, which followed each other in succession. In the first order were eight Gods, of whom *Pan*, or *Mendes*, was the most ancient. This order prevailed, while the year was divided into three seasons, while a greater number of days were allotted to each month, than was afterwards the case, and while only eight months were counted in the year. The second order was established when the zodiacal signs were distributed anew into twelve constellations; the month was limited to thirty, or thirty-one, days; and

¹ *Euterpe*, 144 et 145.

the year was divided into twelve months. The most distinguished God of the second class was *Chon*, or Hercules, whose twelve labors represented the annual progress of the sun through the signs of the zodiac. *Osiris*, or Dionysus, was the principal God of the third class, and it may be presumed that changes were made in the calendar, both at his accession, and at that of his son Horus, to the throne of the heavens.

But the title, under which the sun appears to have been first adored in Egypt, was one that was not likely to be so lost as that no traces of it can be found but in the writings of Moses. In hieroglyphical symbols it was enough that the principal ideas were expressed; and in words, by which those symbols were orally expressed, it was still enough that the leading ideas were there communicated. Nothing can be more idle than to imagine, that in a compound word, expressive of an enigma, and itself an enigma, we should find the strictness of grammatical accuracy. Besides to what grammar shall we refer? The hieroglyphics of the Egyptians are darkly understood at the present day. Who trusts entirely to that *confident Œdipus*, as Cudworth called Kircher? Do we even get much light from the more cautious and scientific Count of Caylus? It is in proper names, that we chiefly discover the mysterious meaning of the Egyptians, and by them are enabled sometimes to trace the sense of painted and sculptured symbols. Thus we know that wings were the emblem of spiritual nature from the testimony of the ancients; and we know that *Cneph* כנף signifies a wing. When we read, therefore, who *Cneph* was, and how he

was considered among the Egyptians, we have no difficulty in explaining what the symbol means, when we see wings represented in hieroglyphics. Let a lion be depicted. *Lions*, says Ælian, *are extremely fiery by nature, and therefore the Egyptians consecrated them to Vulcan.* *Pthas* was the name of Vulcan at Memphis. *Φθὰς ὁ Ἡφαιστος παρὰ Μερφίταις.*¹ Now in examining the word *Pthas*, we shall comprehend the meaning of Ælian. Horapollo informs us, that *Pthas* was *ἀρρενοθήλυς*, that is to say, the name carried with it the sign of the masculine and feminine genders. The word then is *as*, with *P*, the Egyptian sign of the masculine, and *T*, or *Th*, the Egyptian sign of the feminine. *Pthas* then indicates “that fire, or heat, which was conceived to beget and to produce all things, and to be the principle alike of generation and of fecundity.” The hieroglyphic, which expressed this principle, was *a lion*, for the reason assigned by Ælian. *Pthas* was also represented as a man with an egg coming out of his mouth.² Now in reflecting on the name of *Pthas*, we shall perceive that by this symbol the Egyptians meant to indicate that *technical fire*, of which the Stoics afterwards said so much, and which they considered as the *opifex mundi*. Thus *Cneph* and *Pthas* were types of the *demiourgos* spiritually and materially considered. Again, a serpent with its tail in its mouth was the symbol of both these Gods; for the figure thus represents “that which contains and embraces all things.” How applicable this type is to the eternal and infinite spirit, needs no illustration; but it was also applicable to the material *demiourgos*, for not only does

¹ Suidas.

² Vide Euseb. *Preparat.* Lib. III. Cap. 11.

the *technical fire* pervade all things, but being the same with the *Æther*, it embraces and contains the universe.¹

We may establish it as a rule, that in all names, which were symbolical, (and among the Egyptians and Chaldeans most proper names appear to have been so) it was enough, that the leading ideas were there expressed. In what order they came was necessarily dependent upon the number of things to be most conveniently expressed by a single word; for no word representing an enigmatical symbol, as opposed to a tropical symbol, conveyed only one or two meanings. It is true, that at this distance of time we can only catch a glimpse, here and there, of the various meanings concealed under these enigmas.

Most of the names, which we meet with in Scripture, are either Egyptian, Persian, Chaldaic, or Syriac. But the intimate relation, which existed between the religion and learning of the Egyptians and Assyrians, from the Nile to the Euphrates, seems to leave no doubt, that the names invented by the latter were not less enigmatical than those devised by the former. Is it not then absurd to determine the sense of an expressed hieroglyphic, whether in Egyptian, or in Syriac, by any other rule than that, which has been established above?

I have thought it absolutely necessary to make these observations, because some Hebraists, reducing every thing to the standard of

¹ See my notes to the Herculanean MS. entitled *Περὶ τῶν Θεῶν*.

modern Hebrew grammars, have fancied, I know not what, objections to the plainest etymologies of words, many of which are not Hebrew, but Egyptian, Syriac, and Chaldaic. But if these critics had recollected, that most of those names were in fact the names of hieroglyphical symbols, they would have probably seen their error. It is a law, according to the Hebrew grammar, that the governing word should come first, and surely in a Hebrew sentence it would be strange if it did not. In expressing the constituent ideas of a symbol the case is very different; for there the ideas are only denoted, and the interpreter is left to the assistance of his own wits to fill up the rest. Thus there is not perhaps an etymology more evident than that given by Selden of *Adrammelech*, "the magnificent king;" and yet I know not how it can be made to square with strict grammatical accuracy.

But are our Hebraists always attentive to their own laws upon this subject? I believe not, and I think it is then they have reason on their side. I will not call the illustrious Bochart to my aid; nor yet the whimsical Postellus, whose example I would wish to avoid; nor yet the fanciful Huet, who with so much wit has ridiculed his own erudition; but I will refer to grammarians and lexicographers, for whom speculative theories, and imaginary systems, cannot be supposed to have had peculiar attractions. From the following list of proper names, the etymology of each of which is ascribed to its author, it would not seem that syntax, or any certain position of words and elements, had been considered in the formation of Hebrew names.

Joram : from יהוה, *Jehovah*, and רום, *altus*.—STOCKIUS.

Jotham : from יהוה, *Jehovah*, and תם, *perfectus*.—STOCKIUS.

Cherub : from רכיב, *currus*.—GUSSETIUS.

Ninevah : from נין, *nin*, (*Nini*), and נה, *habitatio*.—STOCKIUS.

Jeremiah : from רמה, *projecit*, and יהוה, *Jehovah*.—SCHMIDIUS.

Achinoam : from אח, *unus*, יהוה, *Jehovah*, and נעם, *amænitas*.—HILLERUS.

Adrammelech : from חד, *unus*, אור, *ignis*, and מלך, *rex*.—RUMELINUS.

Achitub : from אח, *vivens*, י, *est*, and טוב, *bonus*.—RUMELINUS.

Achitophel : from אח, *vivens*, and פלת, *separatio*.—RUMELINUS.

Achazza : from אחז, *cepit*, and יה, *dominus*.—RUMELINUS.

Hammolecheth : from עם, *populus*, and מלכת, *regina*.—ONOMASTICON.

Joschibja : from יושב, *habitare facit Deus*.—ONOMASTICON.

Imsuph : from ים, *mare*, and סוף, *alga*.—BUXTORF.

These seem to be proofs, that the Hebraists do not always abide by their own rules. After all, when we are speaking of symbols, we have nothing to do with syntax, for the reasons which I have given above; and still less in speaking of symbols originally Egyptian, are we to fancy that every thing must be squared with our modern grammars of the Hebrew language. If we believe Macrobius, the words *sceptre*, *eye*, ought to have denoted *Osiris*, as completely, as if the name *Osiris* had been written at length; for a *sceptre* and an *eye* made one of the hieroglyphics, which expressed

the name. Now most certainly if a grammarian find *sceptrum oculus* put together, and call on the Gods for the syntax, the Gods themselves will not be able to help him. The priests of Egypt, however, who saw *a sceptre* and *an eye* put together, whether by painting, or by words, would have immediately recollected the symbol of *Osiris*.

Having made this statement, and assuring myself that no candid reader will refuse to consider it, I fear not to observe, that the solar title *On* is to be found in the composition of a vast number of names, Syriac as well as Egyptian. There can be no doubt, I think, that the solar titles *Ach, Had* or *Ad, Or, Aub, &c.* were introduced into proper names; and it would have been strange, if out of so many names we had only *On* omitted. Who doubts that Jerubaal, Jezebel among the Syrians; that Hannibal, Asdrubal among the Carthaginians, were names into which the solar title of Baal, or Bel, was introduced? Can it be questioned what is the etymology of Adonijah, the son of David? Abimelech, Abijah, Elijah, Elisha, are names equally easy to be understood. But as the custom was to introduce the really divine appellations into the names of the Israelites, so the Syrians introduced the names of the Gods, whom Egypt had taught them to adore, into the names of persons and of places. But all religious matters were 'symbolically expressed by the Egyptians; and we must always observe, that in names thus combined, it was enough if the principal ideas were expressed.

The name of *On* occurs only thrice in Scripture, as far as I recollect. In two instances it is written *𐤓*, and in the third *𐤓*. The

Greek translators, whose authority is beyond all comparison higher than that of the Masorites, enable us to pronounce this word as we do. The Egyptian word *On* appears to me to be certainly derived from יהוה, *Jehovah*; because און and הון¹ are to be derived from הוה, *esse*, the root of יהוה, *Jehovah*; and God himself was called אדון *adon*, which in its original sense expressed *the sole being*. *On* then was really and primarily a sacred title, which the Egyptians, and their Syrian neighbours, transferred to the profane objects of their own idolatry. The titles of the true God were parcelled out to the sun and the moon — to the fictitious king and queen of heaven. The moon in conjunction with the sun was called *Ioh* in Egypt; the sun was denominated *Iao* in Lydia; and *Adon* was his title in Phœnicia. The recondite meaning of these words was, indeed, soon lost among the Gentiles, as well as among many of the Jews themselves; and *Jehovah* and *Jah*, like *Iao* and *Adonis*, were alike translated *Lord* by Jews and by idolaters.

When the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, they found all the Syrian tribes infected with the superstitions of Egypt. This accounts for the number of places, which were called by the titles of the sun and moon, and of which the names bore testimony to the respect entertained by the people for those imaginary deities. I am also of opinion, that many persons were named after these false Gods. We are certain that the Israelites introduced the sacred appellations of the true God into their own names, and this they may have done to distinguish their religion from the idolatry of

¹ See Buxtorf in both words.

their neighbours, even in the least important concerns. Thus we cannot doubt that the name of *Elijah* is taken from אל *El*, “Deus,” and יהוה *Jehovah*, for it is written in Hebrew אליהו *El-Jeho*, where we have three letters of the *Tetragrammaton*. Again, *Elisha* signifies *the God of salvation* — אל-ישע.

In the names of many persons and places mentioned in the Bible, it may be remarked that we find the termination to be *on*. Now in names, which were almost all significative, we may suppose that *on* had a meaning; but it seems difficult to allow this, for the termination is almost always ן, which cannot be a separate word, since no Hebrew root commences with *vau*. This difficulty, however, will be easily removed, when we consider, that it was the business of the sacred writers to express by characters the names of persons and places, not exactly according to etymology, but according to the manner, in which they were pronounced. When the names *Gibeon*, *Zidon*, *Zebulon*, &c. were written, it was by no means necessary to separate the words, of which these names were composed, and therefore we find גבעון, and not גבעאון, &c. I am, therefore, decidedly of opinion with Mr. Bryant, that the solar title *On* was really introduced into many proper names by the idolaters of Syria; and having removed the objections made on the score of syntax and orthography, I shall proceed to illustrate my observations by examples.

Rimmon. This was a principal God of the Assyrians, and a solar title. The Masorites, or their followers, have chosen to *dagesh* the *m*; but the real reading is *Rimon* — רימון, *exaltatio solis*.

Abaddon. Here the *d* is *dageshed* by the Masorites. I shall read *Abadon*. This name is supposed by Heinsius and Bryant to be composed of *Ob* and *Adon*, two well-known solar titles. I do not deny that the framers of this enigmatical symbol may have had *Ob* and *Adon* in view; but *Abadon* was the God of destruction; and the authors of the hieroglyphic may have understood *sol-vastator* by אבד-ון *Abad-on*.

Dagon. According to Helladius, *Dagon*, though a man, had wholly the appearance of a fish: ἄνθρωπον ὄντα τὰ πάντα ἰχθὺν δόξει. Apollodorus says the two forms were mixed. This idol has been also thus described: *Dagon Deus est in formâ piscis, id est, sol marinus, sive sol è mari ascendens, vel in mare decidens.* This God, who was the same with the *biceps Oannes*, was the type of the *sol marinus*, and that the hieroglyphic was expressed by the name cannot be doubted; it is composed of דג *dag*, “piscis,” and On, “sol.”¹

Debon. This word is probably a contraction from *debah-on*, “altare solis.” A Greek writer has said Δήβων, τόπος ἔνθα ἰδρύται ἱερὸν Μοαβήτων.

Zebulon. The habitation, or place, of the sun,—זבולן; written by contraction, זבולן.

¹ See I Samuel, 5.

Shion. We have here the true orthography, for it is written שִׁיאוֹן in the Hebrew,—*the gift of the sun.*

Tsidon. The sun was worshipped at *Tsidon*, or *Sidon*, under the name of *Adon*, or *Adonis*, that youth who was so enamoured of the chace. The city was named after the God, who was allegorically represented as a huntsman,—צִידֹן *Tsid-on*, “sol-venator.” In writing contracted thus, צִידֹן.

Adon signifies *sol unus*. *Deo*, says Macrobius, *quem summum maximumque venerantur—Adad nomen dederunt; ejus nominis interpretatio significat “unus.”* *Had*, or *ad*, was frequently written *per aphæresin* for *hahad*, or *ahad*, “unus, primus, princeps.” *Ad* twice repeated is equivalent to *princeps principum*; and was a solar title. *Ad-on* signified, among the Phœnicians, *the sole sun*; or *Ad* was considered as a title prefixed to the name of the sun. I cannot admit the etymology of *Adon*, which is given by Parkhurst and others; and I can have no doubt that the aspirate was softened in אֶד, so often written for אֶדֹן.

It may be objected to me, that Samson, Gideon, and many others would thus be proved to have borne names, which ought only to have belonged to idolaters. Solomon sacrificed to God on Gibeon: and *Adon* was one of the names of Jehovah himself. But the force of this objection must be entirely removed, when we consider, that אֶד, or אֶדֹן, as the word really ought to be written, must be traced to *Jehovah*, יְהוָה, as I have shown above; though

when the name of *On* was transferred to the sun, the true sense was forgotten by the idolaters. Solomon is accused of sacrificing and burning incense on high-places, and certainly *Gibeon*, גבעון, may be rendered *the hill*, or *high-place*, of *On*. But *On* may have borne different meanings in the ears of Jews and Gentiles. Thus the name of *Samson* seems to bear a double sense. This celebrated person was born among the Philistines, who worshipped the sun, and שמשון *Samson*, may signify either *the sun On*, or, in a covert sense, *the minister of On*. Now by *On*, the parents of *Samson* may have understood a title of the true God, and part of his name of *Adon*. Gideon was the person, who put down idolatry in Ophrah, and who cast down the image, and cut down the grove of the sun. His name is גרעון in Hebrew, which signifies *he who hath cut off*, or *destroyed*, *On*. In the names of the two judges of Israel, which we write *Elon* and *Abdon* (עבדון and אילון), *On* is evidently to be considered as applied to *Jehovah*, for the first signifies *the strength of On*, and the second *the servant of On*. This last name is thus equivalent to *Obadiah*, *the servant of the Lord*, (עבדיה).

From this statement it must appear, that אלון *alon*, being equivalent to אל-הון *al-hon*, would have sounded to the primitive Hebrews *the mighty being*: for *al*, or *el*, which afterwards became the name of the Deity, originally signified *the mighty one*. By the Phœnicians *Alon* must first have signified *deus, sol*; but subsequently it seems to have been generally used as the word, which expressed *God*, as *Adon* was considered as synonymous with *Lord*.

It is further to be observed, with respect to this word *On*, that it was frequently pronounced *An*, and *Un*; and sometimes *Oan*. Bryant, not having been aware of this, has in consequence made some mistakes. Thus he understands *Ouran* to signify *fons solis*. The word is evidently *אור-אן*, *lux solis*.

As *On*, corrupted from its original meaning, had become a title of the sun, so *Ona* was the name given to the moon; and was variously pronounced *Ana*, *Anna*, *Ino*, *Juno*, *Una*, *Uno*. *Lebana*, as I have observed elsewhere, is a contraction for *Lebanana*, “luna candida.” That *Anna* was known as a name of the moon even among the Romans appears from Ovid: *Anna*,

*Sunt quibus hæc luna est,—*¹

Juna, says Nigidius, signified *the moon*, and it is evidently a corruption from *יה-אנה*, *domina luna*. *Diana* is *Ana*, *Luna*, with the Chaldaic demonstrative pronoun prefixed, *די-אנה*. According to Varro, *Juno* and *Juna* were the same. Again, *Luna* was probably from *Ela-Una*, *Dea Una*; as the God *Lunus* was no other than *Alon*, which *latinized* would become *Alonus*. But the Carthaginians were accustomed to cut off the initial *aleph*, as when they pronounced *דם* *dom*, for *אדם* *edom*, &c. They consequently

¹ *Fast. Lib. III. v. 657.*

were accustomed to pronounce *Lon*, or *Lun*, for *Alon*, or *Alun*; and *Lona*, or *Luna*, for *Alona*, or *Aluna*. *Lun*, when *latinized* became, of course, *Lunus*. But *Alon* and *Alona* generally signified *God* and *Goddess* among the Carthaginians.

Upon the whole, therefore, I am inclined to retain the *Alonim*, and *Alonoth* of Plautus, and I would rather translate with him *Deos*, *Deasque*, than with Scaliger, Bochart, and Selden, *superos superasque*.

With respect to the resemblance, which existed between the Hebrew and the Phœnician, I think it unnecessary to insist. This resemblance has already been shown by the learned men mentioned above. There are, however, a few remarks, which I should wish to make, on the notion adopted by Bochart and Walton concerning the Punic dialect, which they considered as farther removed than the Phœnician from the Hebrew. I confess, I think their authorities are insufficient. It is true that Hieronymus has said that the Africans had changed some things in the Phœnician language; but if these had been important, it is strange that he has made no mention of what these changes were. In examining Porphyry, Tertullian, and Eusebius, I have not met with any notice of this sort, though it be very possible that the thing has escaped me. Austin, indeed, has said a great deal on the subject; but his evidence is so confused and contradictory, that I cannot suppose that much reliance will be placed on his authority. I am ready to

admit, however, that various words, said to be Punic, and collected by Maius and Reinesius, are gross corruptions from the Hebrew. But are these words really Punic? Most of them have been taken from Maltese monuments, and the question is, whether the Carthaginians corrupted them from the Hebrew, or whether the Maltese corrupted them from the Punic?

In all the legends and inscriptions, which appear to be genuine Punic, and which I have had an opportunity of seeing, I have thought that the language approached as nearly to the Hebrew, as the Phœnician seemed to me to do in any specimens of it, which I have examined. I by no means pretend, however, to argue against the authority of Hieronymus, that the colonists of Byrsa introduced no changes into their language. I only desire to maintain, that no essential difference existed between the Phœnician and the Punic. The northern coast of Africa, from the mouths of the Nile to the lake *Tritonis*, seems to have been inhabited by the descendants of Mizraim. We find in the language of the Copts, of which I have already spoken, that many words, I might say most, which are not Arabic or Greek, bear a strong affinity to the ancient Syriac, and consequently they may be supposed to have belonged to the ancient Egyptian. The ancient Ethiopian language was very nearly Chaldaic, as we have already seen; and as we know that the language of the *Ammonii* partook of the Egyptian and Ethiopian, we may consider it as a spurious dialect of the Chaldaic. Beyond the lake *Tritonis*, which Rennel says is the lesser Syrtis, dwelt the descendents of *Phut*. But although these

Africans, according to Herodotus, differed in laws, manners, and customs, from those who lived to the eastwards of that pool; yet there is no proof of their having spoken another language. It would seem, indeed, that the descendants of Mizraim and Phut, the sons of Ham, ought to have spoken nearly the same dialect. It might have happened then, that the first Phœnicians, who settled in Lybia, and who were descended from another of the sons of Ham, might have found the language of the country to be essentially their own. Still, however, local circumstances will give rise to varieties in speech, and particular associations will require particular idioms. We may, therefore, easily admit to Hieronymus, that the Africans made partial changes in the language of the Phœnicians, without thence inferring, that the Punic differed materially from its original standard.

I have now shown that it is by the help of their cognate dialects, that the Phœnician and Punic can best be known. There are, however, other difficulties to be surmounted. The Phœnicians and their colonists employed a very various, copious, and yet an indistinct, and imperfect alphabet. I count no less than twenty-four forms of the *aleph*, twenty-one of the *vau*, and twenty-three of the *koph*, which I have collected in the course of my researches ; and no letter has less than ten forms, except it be the *he*. He, who could read the inscriptions found in the island of Malta, might be embarrassed by those discovered by Pococke in Cyprus ; he, who could interpret both, might be puzzled by the legends on the coins of Sicily ; and he, who could decipher the epigraphs on Tyrian and Sidonian medals, might be incapable of explaining the Bastulo-Phœnician on some ancient Spanish coins.

It is a great impediment to the learner, that apparently the same forms are often used for different letters. Thus, one letter, which has generally the power of a *tau*, can scarcely be distinguished from another, which has the power of *tzade*.¹ The most common form of the Phœnician *mem* resembles one of the forms of the *nun*, as is pointed out by Eckel ; and this same form of the *mem* is so like to one form of the *shin*, that the *shin* has been mistaken in

¹ See *Mémoires de l'Académie Française*, Vol. xxx.

several instances by Barthelemy for a *mem*. Bayer was the first, who discovered the error of the French academician. The most common form of the *nun* is with difficulty to be distinguished from one form of the *vau*.¹ On a coin of Abdera, explained by Bayer, the *beth*, *daleth*, and *resh* are found under forms so nearly alike as to appear at first the same. It is easy likewise to mistake a form of the *gimel*, which is pretty similar to the Samaritan, for a form of the *resh*, which resembles the Chaldaic. Practice and attention can alone conquer these difficulties.

The orthography of the Phœnicians, like that of the ancient Etrurians, appears to have been very unfixed; and this adds new embarrassments to the interpreter, who is already perplexed with equivocal forms. Thus on the medals of *Tsidon*, "Sidon," the *jod* and the *vau* are sometimes introduced, and sometimes omitted.² On a coin, which I brought over from Sicily, and now in the collection of my very learned friend Mr. P. Knight, the word *Karth-hadashoth* is corruptly spelt *Karth-hadoth*. Pellerin exhibits a legend yet more erroneous, in which we have *Be Karkat*, for *Be Karth-hadash*. It will of course be understood, that in the originals no vowels are expressed.

In the inscription before us, some of the characters were mutilated in the original, and one of them, which resembles the ἐπίσημον

¹ See some epigraphs exhibited by Montfaucon.

² See the Phœnician epigraphs in Montfaucon.

κόππα in its form, is rarely to be found in the Phœnician. I agree with Barthelemy in thinking that it answers to the Chaldaic *he*.¹

Before I proceed, however, to offer my own explanation of this inscription, it is necessary that I take notice of that given by Swinton, which according to *Torremuzzo* was as follows:

Penetrare domus perpetuæ ; sepulcrum est depositi clari viri omnino dormientis ; in cujus depositione commotus est populus intimè eum diligens. Hannibal Barmelici filius.

I lament much, that I have never been able to procure Swinton's own account of his translation. I can have no doubt, however, that he read the inscription in Chaldaic characters, thus:

חדר בת עלם קבר נגעל

נקה בכלת הזה רח

ם דו אם בשת חנב

על בו בר-מלך:

See the Plate at the end of the volume,

חדר, *penetrable*. We read, Proverbs, viii. 27. חדרי מות, *to the chambers of death*. But חדר properly signifies *an inner chamber*. The word is frequently used by the Arabians.

חדר בת עלם. These words may certainly be translated *penetrable, domus seculorum*. בת, or בית, is used metaphorically for *the tomb*. Thus Isaiah says, with his usual beauty of expression

כל מלכי גוים כלם שכבו בכבוד איש בביתו:

All kings of all nations lie in glory, each in his tomb.

The eastern nations are accustomed to build chambers, generally of stone, if the person be of rank, in which they deposit their dead. The body is placed in a *niche* in the wall. This *niche*, I am assured, is called *hadar*, or *chadar*, (חדר, حدر).

בת עלם, literally *domus seculorum*, is a name given to the tomb; but it is applied to it in a particular sense. It means “the internal part of the sepulchre, considered as the everlasting abode of the deceased;” and is what we call *the sanctuary*. Hence, indeed, the Jews, even to this day,

call the sanctuary *בֵּית עֵלָם*, as the eternal abode of Jehovah. These things I have learned from two Jews, who were reckoned among the best informed of their country-men. One was a native of Smyrna, and was well acquainted with Oriental languages and manners; the other was a Spanish Jew, who has explained to me the words in question by referring to the *mausoleum* at the Escorial. The building may be generally termed *the sepulchre*, *קֶבֶר*; the dark and spacious apartment, to which you descend by a long flight of steps, is *the sanctuary*, *בֵּית עֵלָם*; and the *niches* are the *חֲדָרִי*, or *penetralia*, in which the bodies of the kings of Spain are deposited. The next letters are *נָגַעַל*, as it appears they were read by Swinton. This is the *præterite Niphal* of *נָגַעַל*, *fastidivit, projecit*; and, I believe, that in Hebrew it can bear no signification, which could avail us here; but in Chaldaic and Syriac it signifies *posuit, deposuit, &c.* See Luke, xii. 48. and the Second Epistle to Timothy, i. 14. Syriac version.

נִקְהָ, *purus, innocens*, in Hebrew; but in Chaldaic it may signify *honestus, clarus, &c.*

The next five letters answer to *beth, caph, lamed, tau, he*; but I am very dubious about the sixth. The seventh answers to *he*. Swinton appears to have read *בְּכֵלֶת הַזֶּה*. I am, however, convinced that the sixth letter is

not a *zain* ; besides, *הוה* rather signifies *to rave in one's sleep*, than *to sleep*, and would also be inadmissible on account of the construction. I propose to read *נקה בכלת הוה*. This is pure Hebrew : *הוה* is the substantive noun here, and not the verb. It signifies *oppression, calamity*. *כלה* means *completion, consummation*, and being here *in regimine*, is properly written *כלת*. We may, therefore, translate, *illustrious, or pure in the extreme of calamity*. Should any question arise about *הוה* being used as a noun in the sense I have just given it, I refer my reader to Isaiah, xlvii. 11. and to Ezekiel, vii. 26.

רחם, signifies *affectionate*, also, *to be tenderly loved*.

The four next letters are *daleth, vau, aleph, mem*. The third is, perhaps, a double letter *aleph, he* ; but the *he* is not absolutely required, since the *ה*, in *רה* is omissible. *רה* in Chaldaic and Syriac signifies *to mourn*. We may then read *רה אם*, *the people mourned*.

The next three letters are *beth, shin, tau, בשת*. The *ב*, coming before a verb, may be properly translated, *when, since, because, &c.* as the sense requires. See Numbers, xxxv. 19. II Chronicles, xvi. 7. *שת* signifies *to set in array of battle*, in other words, *to prepare for battle, by disposing an army in order*. See Isaiah, xxii. 7. Psalms, iii. 7.

The remaining words need no comment. The following is the arrangement of the whole :

חדר בת עלם קבר נגעל

נקה בכלת הוה רח

ם דוה אם בשות חנב

על בו בר-מלך :

But after many trials, I confess, I have found it impossible to render any collocation of letters in the first line, or any explanation of the words, quite consistent with rule. It would be idle strictly to try a sentence in Punic, by the rules of the Hebrew and Chaldaic, since it was only a cognate dialect; but still there are affinities of idiom, and of expression, which cannot be overlooked. Having examined an original *fac-simile* with attention, I observed that there was space enough for a letter between the tenth and eleventh letters; and that this space in the stone was marked as broken and defaced. I likewise remarked that the letter, which Swinton takes for a *gimel*, was defaced at the top. I conceive then that it is a *beth*; for a slight touch of the pen actually converts it into a *beth*. I had long ago remarked, that I had never seen a *gimel* of this form; but Swinton and Barthelemy having asserted that it was one, I gave up the point. On looking, however, at my copy from the original, and seeing that the head of the letter is defaced, I can

have no further doubts. But this letter being a *beth*, it is obvious, that the defaced letter must have been a *cheth*. We shall then have the same word which recurs below,—חנבעל *Hanni-Baal*.

I consequently read the first line,

הדר בת-עלם קבר חנבעל.

The whole may then be translated :

The inner chamber of the sanctuary of the sepulchre of Hannibal,

Illustrious in the consummation of calamity

He was beloved.

The people lament, when arrayed

In order of battle,

Hannibal, the son of Bar-Melech.

POSTSCRIPT.

ከሀገሪ ገላት ሃከርታ ገላጽ

ፀላናናከባላናት ፤

ገላጽ ፀላና ሃከርታ ገላጽ

ገላጽ ሃከርታ ገላጽ

more or less of the same. But this letter being a fact, it is obvious,
that the detached letter must have been a fact. We shall then
have the same word which recurs below. The Great Seal

T

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1810.

POSTSCRIPT.

IN order to obviate certain objections, which may be made to some of the preceding etymologies, I wish to submit the following observations to the judgment of my reader.

1. Where I find a word with three radicals in any of the cognate dialects, bearing the same meaning with a word in another cognate dialect, which last word has only two of the same radicals, and is defective in the third; I suppose that this last word is a corruption from the first.

2. I am of opinion, that proper names among the ancient Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phœnicians, were generally enigmatical symbols expressed by sounds. The different meanings, therefore, which each proper name might bear, are to be obtained from considering the sounds, rather than the orthography. It is upon this principle, that I suppose the devisers of the symbolical name of *Hor*, may have had in view the words ער and אר, when they gave this appellation to the Sun. ¹

¹ See p. 86.

3. When two nouns meet in regimen in the Hebrew, I mean not to question the authority of the general rule; but I am not convinced, that in devising a symbolical name, the Hebrews did not admit significations, which are scarcely consistent with strict grammatical accuracy. Thus *Rim-On*, or *Rum-On*, literally signifies *exaltatio Solis*; but when I consider, that the Sun was worshipped under the name of *Rim-On*, I conclude that this name was equivalent to *Sol excelsus*.

4. The letter ח is always a guttural aspirate in Hebrew. I believe, however, that it was frequently softened into ה in Phœnician, and in the ancient Syriac. This opinion is sanctioned by other authorities, than that adduced from Macrobius. Bochart thinks that the city so variously called *Oea*, *Οῖη*, *Ἐώα*, &c. by the Greeks and Romans, was originally called חה by the Phœnicians. It seems evident then, that to the ears of the Greeks and Romans these same Phœnicians could not have pronounced the initial *cheth* like a harsh aspirate. That they softened the ח into ה in the word אחר may be confirmed from the statement made by Bochart.¹

5. With respect to the Geez, I ought to have remarked, that in some instances it appears to me, that the Ethiopians write an *alph*, where in the Hebrew the letter is an *ain*.

There is, perhaps, no name, of which I have given the etymology, that can better illustrate the question concerning the rule

¹ Phaleg. and Canaan, Col. 731.

so often mentioned, than that of *Mosheh*, which we write *Moses*. It is evident that מ in Hebrew, and מוא in Chaldaic, can only be so written in regimen. Consequently, it may be urged that מ-ישע, or מוא-ישע, must signify *aquæ salutis*, and not *saved from the water*, as I have understood the name. But I pretend that this name being employed as a symbol, it was quite enough, that the principal ideas were there denoted. That Pharaoh's daughter should call the child *Mosheh*, i. e. *saved from the water*, appears very natural: *And she called his name MOSHEH, and she said, Because I drew him out of the water.* But if she called him *Mosheh*, “*aquæ salutis*,” because she drew him out of the water, I confess, her reasoning does not seem to me to be very clear: the name ought to have been given to the Nile, and not to Moses. Again, it will be said, the name is written משה, and the etymology is already fixed by the subsequent words. But I contend, that each name, answering to an enigmatical symbol, had various significations; and the various ideas, which could be expressed by similar sounds, were considered in framing proper names. These names, when they came to be written, lost, and necessarily lost, much of their enigmatical character, because they could be only written in one way. But in pronouncing *Mosheh*, for example, it might be difficult to distinguish, whether the final letter were a *he*, or an *ain*. The framers of the symbol then, may have thought of משה, *extravit*, &c. but they would also perceive, that by the combination of the Chaldaic מוא and ישע, they would get a combination perfectly fitted to their purpose. The distinction between the sounds of *Mosheh* and *Moisheh* might not interfere with their

understanding of the symbolical name. I have hitherto, however, been speaking as if the name were Hebrew; but the daughter of Pharaoh spoke Egyptian. The derivation from the Hebrew, therefore, which seems to be indicated in the concluding words of the verse, was probably an interpolation of the scribes. Now I know of nothing in Coptic, that will help us to the meaning of the name, if we make it משה, *extraxit*; but if we suppose, that it ought to be rather written with a final *ain*, then we shall get the Egyptian word for *water*, UOY, coming into combination with the word ישע; and it seems probable that this word was also Egyptian. Derivatives from it still exist in the Coptic and Ethiopian. Thus the name was probably written by the sacred author משי contracted from משי-ישע, or משי-ישע.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

PAGE 7.— LINE 12. *read*

כי כוכבי השמים כסיליהם לא יהלו אורם חשך השמש בצאתו וירח לא יגיה אורו.

Page 9. line 8. *read* הלז אשר אני.

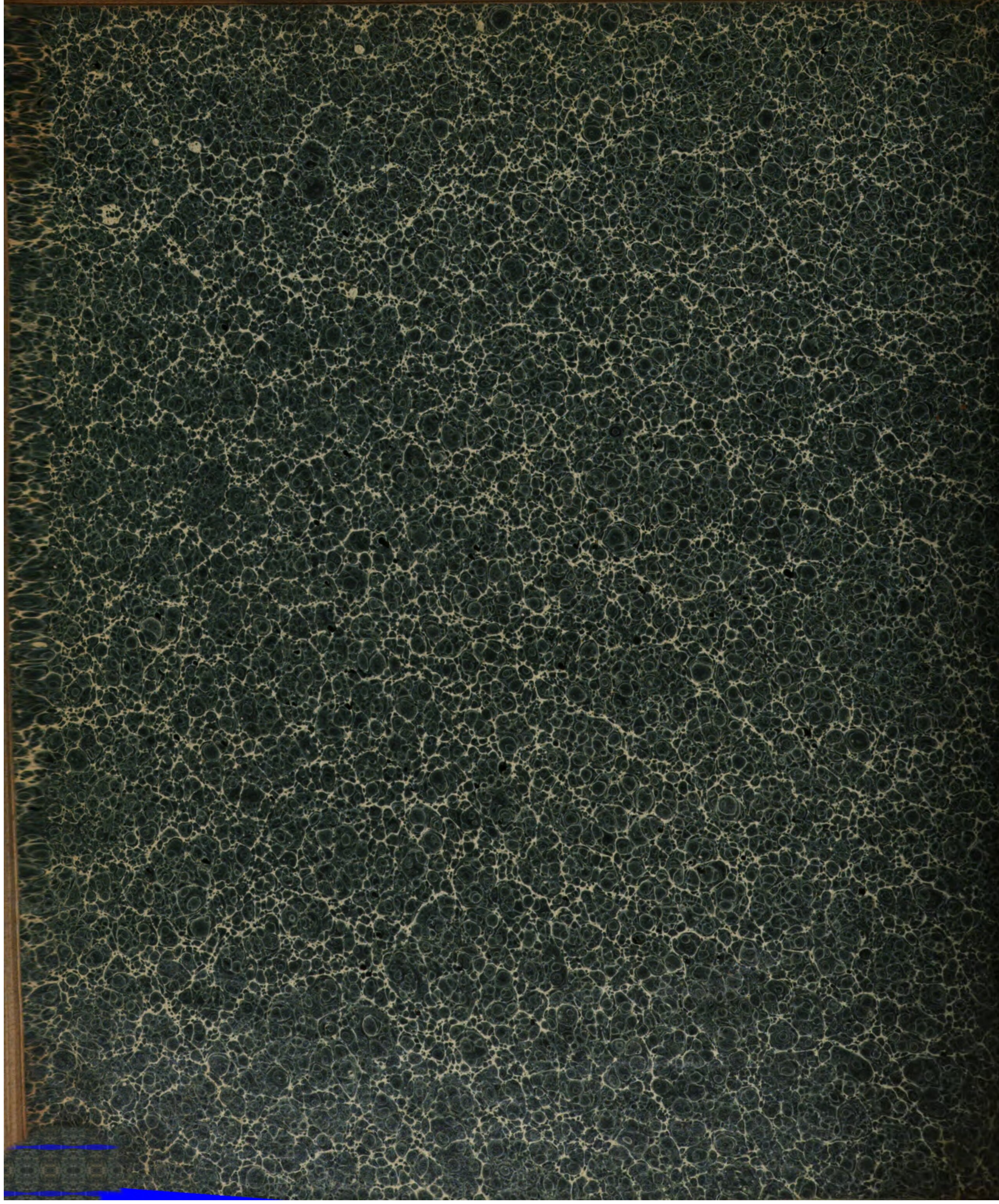
- | | | |
|-------|------|---|
| 10. | 22. | <i>for</i> <i>נסר</i> <i>read</i> <i>נסר</i> . |
| 16. | 20. | <i>for</i> <i>סמון</i> <i>read</i> <i>סמל</i> . |
| 20. | 18. | <i>for</i> <i>דכחמ</i> <i>read</i> <i>דכחמ</i> . |
| 22. | ult. | <i>for</i> <i>Dominus Deorum</i> <i>read</i> <i>Dominus Dominorum</i> . |
| 26. | 9. | <i>for</i> <i>Mavianus</i> <i>read</i> <i>Marianus</i> . |
| 29. | ult. | <i>for</i> <i>יחחל</i> <i>read</i> <i>יחחל</i> . |
| 30. | 4. | <i>for</i> <i>בילדו</i> <i>read</i> <i>ובילדו</i> . |
| Ibid. | 12. | <i>for</i> <i>instruments</i> <i>read</i> <i>swords</i> . |
| 32. | 4. | <i>for</i> <i>עדה</i> <i>read</i> <i>עדה</i> . |
| 43. | 16. | <i>for</i> <i>achir</i> <i>read</i> <i>achu</i> . |
| 44. | 2. | <i>for</i> <i>אדך</i> <i>read</i> <i>אדך</i> . |
| Ibid. | 5. | <i>for</i> <i>סב</i> <i>read</i> <i>סב</i> . |
| 52. | 5. | <i>for</i> <i>פוט-פרה</i> <i>read</i> <i>פוט-פרע</i> . |
| 96. | 8. | <i>read</i> : <i>אן לאשה</i> . |

...I have ...
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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

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Drummond, William

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